Imagining Fear: Exploring the Psychological Impact of a Culture of Violence on Women

By

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University

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Abstract

Post-apartheid South Africa's current climate of patriarchy, social inequality and culture of violence has created a context in which violence against women is both prevalent and tolerated. Despite the extensive literature documenting the social problem of violence against women in South Africa not enough research has been conducted on how this culture of violence affects the identity construction of women. This qualitative, biographical-interpretive study explores how young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in this culture of violence against women in South Africa, more specifically the psychosocial impact this has on them. It draws on the theory of the psychosocial subject, allowing both a 'social' and 'individual' understanding of identity and the social problem of violence against women. Free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 27 female, University of Cape Town (UCT) students, between the ages of 18 and 32. An interpretive analysis drawing on discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Findings revealed the overarching theme of the discourse of subordinate femininity, in which women are constructed as subordinate to men and their behaviour is constantly being regulated and disciplined. The study found that the discourse of subordinate femininity is reproduced through participants' narratives of family violence, fear and vulnerability and discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. The reproduction and resistance of the discourse of subordinate femininity is central to how these women construct their identity. Identifying the discourses of resistance embedded in participants' talk allows this study to represent both the suffering and resistance of these women, which is not commonly seen in literature surrounding violence against women, offering us a more comprehensive picture of how women construct their identity in a violent and volatile context,

such as South Africa. The study also highlighted how the dissemination of discourses of subordinate femininity and feminine transgression contribute to the prevalence of violence against women in society because these discourses position men in a hierarchal corrective relationship to all women, and construct the violence perpetrated against women as a natural response to their transgression. Exploring these narratives and discourses allows us to see how all women, regardless of their experiences of victimisation, are affected by the prevalence of violence against women in society. This study addresses several gaps in the existing literature and is groundbreaking in terms of its unique subject matter, theoretical contributions, methodological approach and social significance to the South African context. It represents an original contribution to the field and is part of an effort to raise consciousness around violence against women and its impact on not only survivors, but all women.

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. 1. Introduction

Violence against women is extremely prevalent in South Africa, placing this social problem at the forefront of research and public interest. South Africa has one of world's highest levels of reported rapes and is labelled the rape capital of the world (Human Rights Watch, 2010; Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2012; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; StatsSA, 2012). South Africa also has high levels of intimate partner violence (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006; Abrahams et al., 2009; Dunkle et al., 2004b, 2004b, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Mathews et al., 2004; Palmary, 2006; Van Rensburg, 2007; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998, 2001; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2008; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1996), and may arguably have the worst statistics for violence against women, for a country not at war (Moffett, 2009). Living in a society characterised by such violence has traumatic implications for the lives of women, regardless of whether or not they are directly affected (Brown, 1995). This study operates from the feminist perspective that violence against women is a structural feature of patriarchy and it affects all women, because all women are affected by the constant fear and threat of such violence (Brown, 1995; Dosekun, 2007; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly & Radford, 1996; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001). Furthermore, the fear of violence, sexual violence in particular, is welded to the 'modern consciousness' of women (Du Toit, 2005; Stanko, 2001). The thesis statement central to this doctoral research focuses on how

young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in this culture of violence against women, more specifically the psychological or in the context of this study, which uses the psychosocial theory as its theoretical framework, the psychosocial impact, this has on them. There are currently few studies that address these issues and this study breaks into untried territory. This qualitative, biographical-interpretive study explores the narratives of 27 young, female University of Cape Town (UCT) students through free association, narrative interviews and uses a meta-qualitative interpretive analysis, drawing on the theory of the psychosocial subject to analyse the interview texts. This study aims to develop and re-imagine the relationship between violence against women and women's identity in South Africa, ultimately offering original and new knowledge to the field. In this introductory chapter, I firstly address the problem of violence against women and establish the presence of a culture of violence against women in South Africa. This discussion helps contextualise the study and identifies key terms central to the study. Secondly, I provide a short overview of the research design and questions and thirdly, I highlight the significance of the study. Finally, I provide an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.2. Background to the Study: Exploring a Culture of Violence against Women in South Africa

Exploring a culture of violence against women in South Africa involves an in-depth discussion of the key terms central to this culture of violence, namely violence; the chronic nature of violence; and violence against women, specifically sexual harassment, intimate partner violence, rape, child sexual abuse and homophobic violence. This helps us develop a new conceptual framework for understanding the culture of violence against women in South Africa,

and its effects on women. This discussion will establish the presence of a culture of violence against women in South Africa, highlighting the magnitude of this social problem and the need for more research in this area.

1.2.1. Exploring Violence, Apartheid and Social Inequality

The World Health Organization (WHO) (2002) defines violence as:

> The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. (p. 1)

This research explores violence against women in South Africa, which engages the concepts of interpersonal violence, namely family and interpersonal partner violence; and community violence (WHO, 2002). A social problem of this magnitude cannot exist in a vacuum and the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa must have widespread social, political and economic effects.

The concept of chronic violence is relatively new and Adams' (2011) and Pearce's (2007) work on chronic violence in South America is central to this field. Pearce (2007) argues that chronic violence occurs in:

> ...contexts in which levels of violence are measured across three dimensions of intensity, space and time. A working definition is where rates of violent death are at least twice the

> average for the country income category, where these levels are sustained for five years or more and where acts of violence not necessarily resulting in death are recorded at high levels across several socialization spaces, such as the household, the neighbourhood, and the school, contributing to the further reproduction of violence over time.
> (p. 7)

Violence against women, which does not necessarily always result in death, is being perpetrated across a variety of social spaces in South Africa, making this definition of chronic violence applicable in this context. The rates of homicide in South Africa are also high and these rates have been sustained over five or more years. The homicide rates relating to violence against women is also staggering as the overall rate of female homicide (24.7 per 100,000) in South Africa is six times higher than the global average and more women are killed by their intimate partner in South Africa than anywhere else in the world (Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009). The homicide rate in South Africa in 2011 was 30.9 per 100. 000 population and the count was 15609 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2013). According to the UNODC homicide statistics South Africa has one of the highest homicide rates in the world and currently ranks as the ninth murder capital of the world (UNODC, 2013). The UN 2013 global study on homicide reports that Cape Town's murder rate is higher than the national average and in 2010 the South African Police Services (SAPS) reported 1,521 homicides among the city's 3.7 million inhabitants (UNODC, 2013). The UN 2013 global study on homicide acknowledges that gaps in data and a lack of reliable reported homicide statistics are common challenges when developing these reports. In fact, Roane (2014) argues that a quarter of the countries listed in the report do not have reliable homicide rates for the period of study. The unavailability of reliable homicide

statistics from every country makes it difficult to rank South Africa's homicide rate globally, however the statistics emerging in the last 10 years regarding the levels of violence in this country are cause for concern.

Nelson Mandela highlights the culture of violence in South Africa when he writes in the foreword of the World Health Organisation's report on violence in 2002, the following:

> Violence thrives in the absence of democracy, respect for human rights and good governance. We often talk about how a ''culture of violence'' can take root. This is indeed true – as a South African who has lived through apartheid and is living through its aftermath, I have seen and experienced it. It is also true that patterns of violence are more pervasive and widespread in societies where the authorities endorse the use of violence through their own actions. (WHO, 2002, p. v)

Nelson Mandela emphasizes how a culture of violence undermines democracy, human rights, good governance and is linked to how authorities sanction the use of violence. South Africa's history of violence as a means of conflict resolution during apartheid and post-apartheid is well documented and may shed light on why violence is so prevalent in South Africa. Violence against women cannot be divorced from the broader social context of South Africa and this context needs to be explored when addressing violence against women (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). During apartheid South Africa became known for its 'culture of violence', characterized by the brutality of the apartheid police force and the armed resistance of the liberation party (Hamber, 2000; Vetten, 2000; Vogelman & Eagle, 1991; Wardrop, 2009). This violence reached

its peak in the early 1990s when the transition from the apartheid government to democracy occurred. Although political violence has decreased since the first democratic election in 1994, South Africa's culture of violence has now become characterized by high levels of violent and sexual crime (Allen, 2002; Bremner, 2004; Britton, 2006; Hamber, 2000). Vetten (2000, p. 49) argues that the "militarisation and conflict of the apartheid era" are embedded in the country's psyche and set the context for how men relate to women in this country. In a similar way, Collins (2013) argues that violence is constructed as the normal and accepted social response of South Africans. South Africa is also known for its violent political slogans, such as "Kill the Boer" or "Kill for Zuma", as well as its violent labour protests, an example being the recent Marikana massacre (Collins, 2013). Despite growing research on the prevalence of violence in South Africa, there is sparse literature on the damaging effects of this chronic culture of violence.

Kaminer and Eagle (2010) argue that South Africa's history of political violence and its high rates of violent crime, sexual and domestic violence, make it a 'natural laboratory' to study the impact of traumatic stress and its consequences, however it is important to acknowledge that this trauma is played out against a backdrop of extreme social inequality and wealth disparities. Theorists argue that social inequality and violence are linked (Adams, 2011; Hamber, 2000). South Africa has one of the highest levels of wealth and social inequality in the world. In 2009, it was recorded that South Africa had a GINI index[1] of 63.1, which is currently the highest index recorded (World Bank, 2013). Narayan and Mahajan (2013) detail in a World Bank report how South Africa, despite being one of Africa's largest economies, still displays strikingly and persistently high levels of inequality.

These high levels of inequalities are attributed to South Africa's history of apartheid in which the country's resources were unfairly distributed along racial lines and Black Africans were denied the ability to accumulate any capital (Narayan & Mahajan, 2013; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). Colonialism and apartheid ensured that government spending was allocated along racial lines and was greatly skewed to advantage the White population and disadvantage the Black population. Apartheid policy also limited the economic, social and political freedom of the majority of the population (Aliber, 2001; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). Black Africans, Coloureds[2] and Indians were not afforded any political rights; were forced to attend low quality and underfunded educational institutions; experienced limited economic and work opportunities; and were required to carry passbooks, which restricted their physical movements in their own country. This created a cycle of 'intergenerational poverty' (Aliber, 2001). Henri and Grunebaum (2005) argue that this intergenerational poverty, one of the legacies of apartheid, is visible in every sphere of daily life in South Africa by observing who works in the kitchens in restaurants and who owns them; who cleans the streets; and who owns and manages the shops and institutions. Although it has been over two decades since the demise of apartheid in 1994, the problem of chronic poverty has not been resolved. At the end of apartheid in 1994, the average per capita income among the Black African population was one 10^{th} of the average per capita income of the White population in South Africa (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). Rising income among Black African households in recent years has reduced the gap of interracial wealth inequality; however, the gap between the wealthy and poor in South Africa is still predominately divided along racial lines and continues to grow (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). Adams (2011) argues that a society that experiences high levels of social inequality does not promote the notion of citizenship, as many individuals begin to feel like second-class citizens

and are unable to build social capital[3], contributing to a cycle of violence. Hamber (2000) argues that it is these high levels of social inequality and economic deprivation, which undermines social capital, that are the root causes of the culture of violence in South Africa.

1.2.2. Violence against Women

The UN General Assembly's Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines violence against women as:

> Any act of gender-based violence[4] that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (Article 1, paragraph 14)

Article 2 of the declaration clearly defines violence against women as physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, marital rape, female genital mutilation; traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation (United Nations General Assembly [UNGA], 1993). This includes physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution (UNGA, 1993). This includes violence against women perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs (UNGA, 1993). The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UNGA, 1993, Preamble, paragraph 6) states that:

> [V]iolence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and … violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.

The most recent report from the World Health Organisation (2013) revealed that physical and sexual violence affects more than one third (35%) of all women worldwide. This report emphasises how violence against women is pervasive both globally and locally and is a major factor contributing to women's ill health (WHO, 2013).

1.2.2.1. Types of Violence against Women

The different types of violence against women, namely sexual harassment, intimate partner violence, rape, child sexual abuse and homophobic violence are discussed in this section.

1.2.2.1.1. Sexual Harassment. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 defines sexual harassment as "unwanted conduct which is persistent or serious, demeans, humiliates or creates a hostile or intimidating environment or is calculated to induce submission… and which is related to sex, gender or sexual orientation" (The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4, 2000, p. 4; Vetten, 2000). Research shows that sexual aggression is seen as a common and taken-for-granted feature of male-female interaction, which highlights why sexual harassment is often normalized and

trivialized (Koss & Cleveland, 1997; Russell, 1984; Walker, Reid, & Cornell, 2004). Sexual harassment was found to be prevalent at the following tertiary institutions in Southern Africa: the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Ramphele, Molteno, Simons, & Sutherland, 1991), Stellenbosch University (Daniels, 2002; Gouws, Kritzinger, & Wenhold, 2005; Steenkamp, 2010), Rhodes University (De Klerk, Klazinga, & McNeil, 2007), University of Botswana (Bennett, 2005), University of Transkei (Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997), University of ZuluLand (Nene, 2010) and the University of Kwazulu-Natal (UKZN) (Chetty, 2008; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Phungula, 2007). UCT set up a committee of enquiry into sexual harassment on campus and the findings revealed that 45% of female UCT students who participated in the study experienced sexual harassment within one month of being at the university (Ramphele et al., 1991). However, none of these women reported these incidences to the university or other relevant authorities (Ramphele et al., 1991). Bennett (2005) conducted three case studies at Stellenbosch University, the University of the Western Cape and the University of Botswana on sexual harassment, exploring the policies in place to address it and the incidence rate. Cases of sexual harassment seemed to be prevalent at all three universities and sexual harassment policies appeared to be under-utilized by students. The study showed that students found it difficult to label sexual harassment and normalized this behaviour (Bennett, 2005). UCT is currently one of the most active universities surrounding policy development in sexual harassment and set up an office on the Prevention of Discrimination and Harassment in 2000 (Bennett, 2009). Recently the University of Witwatersrand (WITS) sexual harassment and abuse scandal in 2013 has captured the attention of both the media and the public. Three lecturers were fired and one lecturer resigned after allegations of sexually harassing students were levelled against them (Seale, 2013). The media reported on four female students' sworn

allegations detailing rape, sexual assault and harassment against a senior lecturer at WITS in the drama department (Joubert, 2013). Although still relatively under-researched, sexual harassment and abuse at universities appears to be a serious problem in South Africa and represents one of the manifestations of violence against women.

1.2.2.1.2. Intimate Partner Violence. The Domestic Violence Act of 1998 defines domestic abuse as the following: "physical abuse; sexual abuse; emotional, verbal and psychological abuse; economic abuse; intimidation; harassment; stalking; damage to property; entry into the home without the complainant's permission; and any other abusive, controlling behaviour" (Domestic Violence Act 116, 1998, p. 2). This act encompasses a range of abusive acts, which makes it difficult to gauge the magnitude of domestic violence in South Africa. One of the limitations of this act is that it only refers to domestic relationships and domestic violence typically refers to women who are married and/or living with their partners. This makes it difficult for young women not living with their abusive partners, to obtain protection through the law. Although legislation refers specifically to domestic violence, there is extensive research documenting intimate partner violence in South Africa (Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009; Boonzaier, 2005, 2008; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Dunkle et al., 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Leach, 2002; Mathews et al., 2004; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer, Strebel, & Foster, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998, 2001; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). It is estimated that one in four women are believed to be involved in an abusive relationship and more women are killed by their intimate partners in South Africa than anywhere else in the world (Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009; Palmary, 2006; Van Rensburg, 2007).

Approximately half of all South African women murdered in 1999 were murdered by their intimate partner and as a result it is estimated that a woman is killed by her intimate partner every 6 hours (Mathews et al., 2004). Dunkle et al. (2004b) reported that half of the women attending an antenatal clinic in Soweto had experienced intimate partner violence and Abrahams et al. (2006) found that 42 % of male municipal workers in Cape Town reported physically abusing their partners. Dunkle et al. (2006) also found that one third of a sample of young men from 70 villages in the rural Eastern Cape reported physically abusing their partners. These statistics and research studies surrounding intimate partner violence in South Africa are frightening and represent how a woman's constitutional right to feel safe in her own home and community is being violated daily (Lamb & Price, 2013).

1.2.2.1.3. Rape in South Africa. Prior to the 2007 new Sexual Offences Bill, rape was formally defined as a male having sexual intercourse (vaginal) with a female without her consent, however the Amendment Act 32 of 2007 redefines rape and sexual assault (Van der Bijl, 2010). The new Sexual Offences Act of 2007 broadened the definition of rape to include forced anal, oral and vaginal sex, irrespective of the gender of either the victim or perpetrator and the method of penetration. (The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32, 2007). Rape is now defined, as "Any person ('A') who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ('B'), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape (The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32, 2007; Van der Bijl, 2010, p. 225). Acts that were previously classified as indecent assault can now be classified as rape. This has important legal repercussions for

sentencing and bail. Marital rape was also legally recognised in 1993 in South Africa (Britton, 2006).

South Africa has been labelled the rape capital of the world and in 2012, 55201 rapes were reported to the police. (Human Rights Watch, 2010; ISS, 2012). The incidence of rape in South Africa is four times higher than the incidence of rape in the United States (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010). Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), in their epidemiological survey of rape in South Africa, argue that young women are the most likely to be raped, with 20 years old being the mean age at which women are raped for the first time. Recent statistics also reveal that one in three women will be raped in her lifetime (StatsSA, 2012). However, Van Rensburg (2007) argues that this statistic is closer to one in two women as a woman is raped every 26 seconds in South Africa. These statistics need to also be viewed in terms of the gross underreporting, stigma and silence surrounding rape in South Africa. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation (NICRO) estimates that only one in 20 rapes are reported whilst the SAPS estimates that only one in 36 rapes are reported (Vetten, 2000). Morrell (2003) argues that the embedded nature of silence as a defence mechanism during apartheid and the dominant discourses of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy in South Africa, both serve to silence women and promote this trend of underreporting. Altbeker (2005) also acknowledges the difficulties in estimating South Africa's prevalence of violence, especially in a context of underreporting and government's reluctance to acknowledge the rape epidemic. As a result, it can be estimated that violence against women is far more prevalent in South Africa than reports suggest.

Studies that sample men and measure their levels of perpetration of rape also represent valuable research in this debate surrounding the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa. Jewkes et al. (2010b) conducted a study measuring rape prevalence and the 'how, when and why' men rape. This study was conducted in three districts of the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal and drew their sample from the 2001 census, in which 1686 men between the ages of 18 and 49 years were interviewed. Twenty-seven percent (466/1686) of the sample had raped a woman before, whilst three per cent disclosed raping a man (Jewkes et al., 2010b). If this statistic is applied to the general population then roughly one in four men in South Africa perpetrate rape. Jewkes et al. (2010a) found that "men who rape commonly rape multiple women, on multiple occasions and have different type of victims" (p. 30) and these men claimed the motivations behind these rapes stemmed from a discourse of male sexual entitlement (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011). Jewkes, Nduna, Shai and Dunkle (2012) conducted research amongst 1147 male youths in the Eastern Cape and found that 24.9% had perpetrated rape or attempted to perpetrate rape, translating to one in five men in this study. This study found that men that had perpetrated rape were more susceptible to peer pressure, which emphasizes the need to change constructions of masculinity in South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2012). This research is aligned with Kalichman's et al. (2007) research on 435 men in townships and informal settlements in Cape Town, which found that 22% of men had histories of sexual violence, similar to Jewkes et al. (2012) finding of 24.9%. It is also important to recognise that women commonly construct strangers as the perpetrators of rape and acts outside of this 'stranger rape script' are often not labelled as rape (Collins, 2013; Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Gavey, 2005; Posel, 2005a; Russell, 1984; Turchik, Probst, Irvin, Chau, & Gidycz, 2009). However, extensive research shows that women are more likely to be raped by someone they know than by

a stranger (Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002; Russell, 1984; StatsSA, 2012; Vetten, 1997; Vogelman, 1990).

Jewkes et al. (2010b) study found that one out of eight men that had perpetrated rape received a legal/criminal consequence, whilst only half of those men were imprisoned because of their offence. An example of how the criminal justice system in South Africa handles rape cases can be seen in the People Opposing Women Abuse's (POWA, 2010) report on violence against women in South Africa, in which they tracked rape survivor, Buyisiwe's case. Buyisiwe was gang raped in Cape Town in October 2005, however due to court delays and missing documents her seven rapists were only tried in July 2009 (POWA, 2010). They were then found guilty and received sentencing in September 2009 (POWA, 2010). However, this would not have occurred without the lobbying and protest efforts from activist groups, such as the one in nine campaign, which lobbied for Buyisiwe's case for four years (POWA, 2010). Knox and Monagham (2003) argue that the SAPS and criminal justice system are perceived as ineffective by many South Africans and it is no surprise that women in South Africa are becoming more and more disillusioned with the government's response to rape as many believe that the government does not take the social issue of rape seriously (Du Toit, 2005). For example, in April 2000, the Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi told ABC's 20/20 that "Most South African women who report rape are lying." (Du Toit, 2005, p. 254). The prevalence of rape in South Africa and the slow response from the SAPS and criminal justice system to act, paint a picture of a culture where violence against women and subsequently the lives of women, are seen as unimportant. Kaminer and Eagle (2010) argue that social alienation is a common product of traumatisation and individuals often become increasingly critical of the criminal justice system and the

government. We have to ask ourselves the question: What does this do to the identity of women? It would be naive to think that women are unaffected and unharmed by living in a society where violence against women is not taken seriously.

1.2.2.1.3.2. Gang Rape. Gang rape in this context refers to the rape of one woman by a group of men and represents an expression of anger, violence and domination (Seifert, 1992). A surveillance study for the inner city of Johannesburg, South Africa, found that one in four of all rapes in South Africa are gang rapes (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). This study found that most women were abducted and gang raped while walking, waiting for or using public transport (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). The increase of rape and gang rape in South Africa can also be understood as part of the broader culture of violence in South Africa, which can be attributed to South Africa's history of violence as a means of conflict resolution and the protracted marginalization experienced by young men in this country (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993; Wardrop, 2009). Moolman (2004) conducted research on gang rape in the Cape Flats and found that gang rape served various purposes: to initiate members into the gang by 'proving' their heterosexual masculinity and male privilege, as well as degrading and as a result silencing the women in their community. Anene Booysen's story depicts gang rape at its worst. Anene Booysen was gang raped, mutilated, disembowelled and murdered in 2013 by her ex-boyfriend, Johannes Kana and reportedly five other men (SAPA, 2013; Swart, 2013; Tswanya, 2013). However, only Kana was charged and was found guilty of her rape and murder, receiving two life sentences (SAPA, 2013). This brutal rape and murder of a 17-year-old girl from the small town of Bredasdorp sparked the outrage of the nation. Hospital staff that attended to Anene had to receive trauma counselling because her injuries were reportedly so horrific (Tswanya, 2013). Unfortunately,

Anene's story is one of many in South Africa, in which tolerating sexual violence has become part of the fabric of daily life.

1.2.2.1.4. Child Sexual Abuse. Child sexual abuse is defined as:

> ...the assertion of power, through sexual acts, against children before the age of consent - that is, under 16 years of age. Whether or not a child under the age of 16 allegedly consented to such sexual activity is immaterial to the definition of sexual abuse. Sex with a child under the age of 16 is legally defined as statutory rape.
> (Fox & Nkosi, 2003, p. 3)

> And may include: contact abuse (genital/anal fondling, masturbation, oral sex, object/finger penetration of the anus/vagina and/or encouraging the child to perform such acts on the perpetrator); non-contact abuse (exhibitionism, suggestive behaviours or comments, exposure to sexual activity, pornographic materials or producing visual depictions of such conduct; involvement of a child in activities for the purpose of pornography or prostitution); and rape, indecent assault, prostitution and incest with children.
> (Fox & Nkosi, 2003, p. 3)

In 2004, over 40% of all rapes reported were perpetrated against children and it appears that this statistic is increasing, placing the sexual abuse of children as a current trend in South Africa (Collings, 1997; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2002; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005; Lalor, 2004; Madu & Peltzer, 2001). Many

of these studies refer to both boys and girls; however, in the context of this discussion childhood sexual abuse will be discussed as a form of violence against women. Collings (1997) conducted one of the largest studies on child sexual abuse amongst university students in South Africa and surveyed 640 female students at UKZN, in which 64% were White, 21% were Indian and 11% were Black African. Approximately 34.8% of this sample had reported child sexual abuse and indicated acquaintances as the primary perpetrators (Collings, 1997). Madu and Peltzer (2001) conducted a similar study on child sexual abuse with 414 male and female secondary school students in the Northern province and 53.6% of girls reported sexual abuse and indicated 'friends' as the primary perpetrators. Jewkes et al. (2002) found in their study of a nationally representative sample of 11735 women between the ages of 15-49, that school teachers (33%) were the primary perpetrators. These prevalence rates are alarming and each study reveals a different primary perpetrator.

However, regardless of these contradictory findings, child sexual abuse is at epidemic proportions in South Africa, which Richter (2003) argues is linked to the virgin cleansing myth. The virgin cleansing myth asserts that an individual can cure or protect themselves from HIV/AIDS by having sexual intercourse with a virgin (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; Richter, 2003). The rape of nine month old baby Tshepang ('have hope') in 2001 by her 16-year-old mother's ex-boyfriend in an impoverished community in the Northern Province shocked the South African public (Graham, 2008; Richter, 2003). The epidemic of child rape in South Africa, which captured national and global attention in 2003 with the tragic case of baby Tshepang, has created a rise in research on infant rape in the last 10 years. However, the incidence of child sexual abuse in South Africa is not only linked to the virgin cleansing myth and HIV/STD avoidance

strategies but also to rapid social change, a male dominated social structure, absent parents and migrant labour patterns (Lalor, 2004; Madu & Peltzer, 2001). Peer reviewed research on the sexual abuse of children in South Africa is still limited, with the majority of research focusing on child sexual abuse in impoverished communities, neglecting the incidence of abuse in middle to upper-income areas (Lalor, 2004).

1.2.2.1.5. Homophobic Violence. South Africa was the first country to place sexual orientation under the protection of constitutional law (Gontek, 2009). In 2006, South Africa became the fifth country internationally and first country in Africa to legalize same sex marriage (Gontek, 2009). Despite this extensive legal and constitutional reform, homophobic violence against women is prevalent in South Africa, with Black African lesbians in impoverished communities being most at risk (Anguita, 2012; Bennett, Reddy, & Moletsane, 2010; Gontek, 2009; Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy, & Moletsane, 2010; Msibi, 2009; Morrissey, 2013; Muholi, 2004; Nel & Judge, 2008; POWA, 2010; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002; Wells & Polders, 2006). Homophobic violence can be defined as crimes committed out of the perpetrator's prejudice of differing identities that do not conform to dominant heteronormative discourse (Gontek, 2009; Harris, 2004). These actions are considered hate crimes because they are motivated by hatred and prejudice and are intended to intimidate or hurt someone because of their membership of a particular race, sexual orientation, disability, religion, citizenship or gender (Harris, 2004). In 2008, the gang rape and murder of Eudy Simelane, a Black African lesbian and former national soccer player drew further attention to the increasing homophobic violence in South Africa (Msibi, 2009; POWA, 2010).

Public policy does not necessarily reflect the voices of key political figures in South Africa. Jacob Zuma, the president of South Africa, stated at Heritage Day celebrations in KwaZulu-Natal on the 24th of September 2006, in front of a large crowd of supporters: "When I was growing up an ungqingili (a gay) would not have stood in front of me. I would knock him out" (Robins, 2008, p. 414). Zuma also described same-sex marriages as "a disgrace to the nation and to God" (Robins, 2008, p. 414). The leader of the *African Christian Democratic* party, Kenneth Meshoe, described homosexuality in the early 1990s as "a White man's disease that has been introduced into the Black culture" (Gontek, 2009, p. 3). Black African women that are considered to be living beyond 'accepted' heterosexual norms of dress, behaviour or desire, are called derogatory terms, such as "*Nongayindoda*" in isiZulu, in an attempt to shame and stigmatise them (Bennett, 2010, p. 37). *Nongayindoda* is a "derogatory name used to refer to a female that looks like a man" (Mtumane, 2010, p. 76). The prevalence of homophobic violence against Black African lesbians is demonstrative of the intersectional nature of oppression in which these women are targeted because of their transgression of acceptable heterosexual roles and behaviours, as well as their status as Black African women, in which homosexuality is constructed as 'un-African' and infused with notions of colonialism and moral degeneration (Bennett, 2010; Gontek, 2009).

However, Zuma recently appointed the first openly gay cabinet minister, Lynne Brown, a Coloured woman from Cape Town to the post of public enterprises minister (Smith, 2014). This is a significant step forward for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community in South Africa and is considered a symbolic step towards ending homophobia in South Africa (Smith, 2014). Despite the prevalence of homophobic violence against women in South Africa,

there is still not enough comprehensive literature on this social problem. There are also stark discrepancies between policy and practice in South Africa, which requires further research and interventions at a public and community level (Gontek, 2009).

1.2.2.2. Support for a Culture of Violence against Women in South Africa

South Africa's levels of violence against women are staggering and this violent culture seems to be supported by dominant social discourse in society. Sikweyiya, Jewkes and Morrell (2007) conducted interviews with 20 men from the Eastern Cape between the ages of 18 and 49, regarding their attitudes and practices of non-consensual sex with women. This study revealed that men used language to distance themselves from the practice of coerced sex and constructed rape as a problem for men and not as an abuse of women (Sikweyiya et al., 2007). The CIET report 1997-2000 interviewed 2059 men in the Johannesburg area between the ages of 18 and 83 years, 89% on the streets, 7% at a shop and 2% at a hostel (CIETafrica, 2000). One in four of these men (25%) believed that when a woman says no she means yes and 40% believed it was okay to 'punish' ones partner through physical, verbal, economic or sexual abuse (CIETafrica, 2000). The CIET 2002 report on sexual violence and HIV/AIDS conducted research among 283,500 school-going youth (14 years and older) across 1418 schools and found that half of all learners believed that a girl means 'yes' when she says 'no' (CIETafrica, 2004). CIETafrica (2004) found that this belief was more widespread amongst boys than girls; however it was pervasive across both sexes. Furthermore, 26% of all learners believed that women did not hate being raped and 60% of all learners believed that it was not rape to have forced sex with someone you know (CIETafrica, 2004). Rape is also becoming incorporated into the culture that children are growing up in. A South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) report (2006)

found that children in the Western Cape were observed playing games such as “rape me, rape me” and “hit me, hit me” (p. 7). In these games, the children chase each other until someone is caught and then the children pretend to rape and hit this child. This is disturbing because it highlights how rape and violence is entrenched in our culture in South Africa (SAHRC, 2006).

This research is also indicative of a culture in which a woman’s right to her own body is not respected (CIETafrica, 2004; SAHRC, 2006; Sikweyiya et al., 2007). This can be seen in the recent reports of ‘miniskirt attacks’ in South Africa in which women were attacked and often raped with the justification being that they produced such attack through their choice of clothing (Makoni, 2011; Mhlana, 2008; Vincent, 2008b; Williams, 2008). In 2008 a Black African woman, who was wearing a miniskirt, was attacked when she was travelling from her home in Soweto in a minibus (Mhlana, 2008; Vincent, 2008b; Williams, 2008). She was stripped, doused with alcohol and sexually assaulted by taxi drivers in the Noord Street taxi rank in Johannesburg (Vincent, 2008b). The act of Black African women adopting western dress such as miniskirts or pants may symbolize colonial intrusion and moral degeneration, which may incite violence as men often take on a ‘guardian role’ in which they feel ‘obligated’ to police the behaviour of women (Makoni, 2011; Vincent, 2008b).

Authority figures also play a particularly important role in sustaining the culture of violence against women in South Africa. In 2004 Thabo Mbeki, the president of South Africa at the time, attacked Charlene Smith, a rape survivor and an anti-rape activist, for publicly announcing South Africa has the worst rape statistics in the world (Moffett, 2006; Vetten, 2004). Mbeki claimed that the police are combating rape effectively and anyone who disagrees is racist

and guilty of demonizing the sexuality of Black African men (Moffett, 2006; Vetten, 2004). Mbeki has since detracted his statement (Moffett, 2006). However, there is a popular discourse amongst women in South Africa to imagine the rapist as Black and a stranger, which is embedded in the racialised discourse of apartheid (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Moffett, 2009; Posel, 2005b). In November 2005, Jacob Zuma, the deputy vice president at the time and currently the president, was accused of raping 'Kwezi', a 31-year-old female family friend and HIV/AIDS activist, in his home in Johannesburg. During the course of the trial, the defence team accused Kwezi of wearing revealing clothing to 'seduce' Zuma and questioned her on her sexual history, insinuating that she had a history of laying false rape accusations (Robins, 2008). However, Kwezi was wearing a *kanga* at the time of the attack, which is an African traditional cloth. This garment is usually characterized by female modesty but was sexualized throughout the trial (Robins, 2008). Zuma grounded his defence in the context of Zulu culture and masculinity in which he claims a woman in a state of arousal should not be left alone (Reddy & Potgieter, 2006). During the trial Zuma referred to the vagina as "*isibhaya sika bab'wakhe* (her father's kraal)" (Reddy & Potgieter, 2006, p. 517), further entrenching patriarchal values by defining a woman's body in terms of its relation to a man. Zuma supporters also protested outside the Johannesburg high court burning pictures of the accuser and chanting "burn the bitch" (Reddy & Potgieter, 2006; Robins, 2008). Zuma was acquitted of the rape charges by Justice Willem van der Merwe and criticized by the judge for having unprotected 'sex' with an HIV positive woman (Robins, 2008). Incidents such as Zuma's rape trial and Mbeki's verbal attack of rape survivor, Charlene Smith presented a volatile message to the public regarding the criminal justice system's handling of sexual violence cases and the treatment of survivors. These incidences create a

volatile environment for survivors of gender-based violence and all women, which further promotes the silencing of violence against women in South Africa.

The prevalence of violence against women in South Africa is paradoxical in nature as there is currently extensive legislation which readdresses the subordination of women in South Africa since 1994 (Walker, 2005). This includes the Domestic Violence Act of 1998; the New Sexual Offences Act of 2007 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000. Furthermore, the South African Constitution of 1996, which advocates for the rights of freedom and security of any individual, irrespective of their gender or sexuality or race, is one of the most progressive constitutions in the world (Human Rights Watch, 2010). South Africa also has some of the highest number of women in parliament in the world (Graybill, 2001). In the Global Gender Gap Report 2014 recently released by the World Economic Forum (WEF), South Africa ranked 18th in terms of gender-equality worldwide (WEF, 2014). This was largely due to its strong ranking of 12th worldwide for political participation by women (WEF, 2014). However, despite extensive legal discourse and political reform, violence against women in South Africa is still prevalent and legal discourse does little to impact on the private sphere of what happens in people's relationships and in their homes. This present study explores the paradox between the extensive legal discourse and the culture of violence against women in South Africa, which is currently an under-researched area.

1.3. The Research Study: Research Questions and Design

Oliver (2004) argues that "research questions do not just exist in a vacuum" (p. 99) and this study draws on my own identity as a young, White, middle-class woman living in South

Africa. In 2009, I completed a Masters by Dissertation (Psychology), in which I conducted a study exploring the discursive constructions of gender-based violence and safe sex practices amongst female residence students at UKZN. This research opened up many questions for me regarding what it means to be a woman in South Africa, a country known for its high levels of violence against women. As a doctoral candidate, I wanted to explore how women are changed by living in a society where they are constantly anticipating violence and living in fear. This thesis argues that young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in a culture of violence against women, such as South Africa, regardless of whether or not they are directly victimised. This doctoral research aims to explore how women are affected by this culture of violence against women, in particular how it affects their identity construction. The research questions central to this study are:

(a) How are women affected by living in a society where violence against women is prevalent and tolerated?

(b) What is the psychological (psychosocial) impact of a culture of violence on women?[5]

A qualitative, inductive, biographical-interpretive research design was adopted and the theory of the psychosocial subject framed the study. Free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 27 female, UCT students, between the ages of 18 and 32 years. Interviewing female university students is relevant because universities represent microcosms of wider South African society, as the normalisation of violence is carried over into campus life and culture (Gouws et al., 2005). An interpretative analysis, comprising of discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Through the use of this theory and method this thesis looks at these sub-questions:

(1) What narratives do these women construct in this context?

(2) What discourses do these women invest in and how do these discourses construct their understanding of the world?

(3) What are the unconscious motivations and attractions of these discourses?

Exploring each of these questions helps us understand how these women construct their identity and embodied experience in a culture of violence against women in South Africa, highlighting the connection between the unique inner world of the individual (the psyche) and the shared social world.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This research study is socially and politically significant to the South African community because it addresses one of the major social problems facing our country: violence against women. Despite South Africa's culture of violence against women sparse research has been conducted on how this social problem affects the women living in this country. The consequences of violence against women are typically described in terms of physical, mental and social well-being, however little research is dedicated to how a culture of violence against women can affect the identity construction of the women living in it. This research attempts to bridge that gap and offers new and exciting results in an important but under-researched area. It explores how women construct their narratives and their own understanding of the world in a culture of violence against women in South Africa, developing new understandings surrounding identity and trauma.

1.5. Outline of the Thesis

This introductory chapter has explored the background of the study, namely the culture of violence against women in South Africa; key terms central to this thesis; an overview of the research study, including research design and research questions; and the significance of the study. Chapter Two reviews literature on how women experience living in a culture of violence against women, focusing on the following sections: women and the fear of violence; qualitative research on women's experiences of violence against women and the consequences of violence against women. Chapter Three details the theoretical framework of the study, namely the theory surrounding gender, trauma and the psychosocial subject. Chapter Four outlines the methodological concerns of this qualitative, biographical-interpretive study, which comprises of free association, narrative interviews and an interpretive analysis, in which discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis are utilised. Chapters Five and Six review the results of the study, which comprises of the overarching theme of the discourse of subordinate femininity, which is produced through narratives of family violence, fear and vulnerability and discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Seven, includes a summary of the study's findings, the limitations of the study, the study's contributions, recommendations for further research and final reflections and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

A LITERATURE REVIEW OF GENDERED FEAR AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

2.1. Introduction

The introductory chapter outlined the substantial research on the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa and the volatile environment that women in South Africa live in. This study focuses on how young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in this culture of violence against women in South Africa, more specifically the psychosocial impact this has on them. This chapter reviews the literature and research surrounding how women experience living in a culture of violence against women, providing a detailed context for the present study. The first section reviews literature on women and the fear of violence and focuses on how all women, regardless of their history of victimisation, experience the fear of male violence and how it collides with gender identity. However, literature on women and the fear of violence locates danger in public spaces and tends to neglect violence that occurs in the private sphere. The second section addresses this issue and reviews the qualitative research on women's experiences of violence against women, specifically focusing on young women. It focuses on women's direct experiences of violence and primarily explores intimate partner violence in dating relationships amongst the youth. The third section reviews the consequences of violence against women, which comprise of physical and mental health outcomes; and the increased risk of HIV infection. The literature identified provides an overview of some of the concerns of this research study and relations, contradictions, gaps and inconsistencies in literature are identified.

2.2. Women and the Fear of Violence

Feminist theorists argue that the fear of rape and violence is central to the lives of women, as it is an ever-present danger that women are expected to tolerate and manage (Campbell, 2002a; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly, 2013; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989). There is currently adequate literature surrounding women and the fear of violence, however this is mostly situated in the North American, UK and Scandinavian context, with few studies focusing on South Africa. A review of this literature revealed the following trends: fearing public spaces; the spatial paradox and constructing precautionary strategies.

2.2.1. Women's Fear of Violence and Public Spaces

Women's fear and restricted use of public space has been adequately documented in the western context (Coakley, 2003; Day, 2001; Hollander, 2000, 2001, 2002; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995; Valentine, 1989), however more research is needed in South Africa. Sandberg and Tollefsen (2010) conducted qualitative research on male and female narratives of fear in public spaces in Umeå, Sweden. The presence of a serial rapist called *The Haga Man* in this Swedish town between 1999 and 2006 inflamed the populations' fear of public places (Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010). Interviews were conducted with 10 young women and 10 young men, between the ages of 20 and 26, during 2005, the time of *The Haga Man* attacks and narrative analysis was utilised. This study found that women expressed 'full' narratives of female fear, typified by the presence of the unknown male stranger and fear of public spaces, whilst male narratives of fear were less elaborate and sometimes non-existent (Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010). However, this finding is

due to the specific gendered threat of rape that *The Haga Man* posed to the women in the town. Narrative approaches have also been utilised in other research, which explores how people talk about the fear of violence and public spaces (Hollander, 2000; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005).

The important role that the built environment plays in the fear of violence is well documented in literature in North America, the UK and Europe (Coakley, 2003; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Hollander, 2000; Pain, 2000; Valentine, 1989). Valentine's (1989) qualitative research in Reading, UK, found that women felt more insecure in public spaces, such as large open spaces (parks or woodlands) and closed spaces (subways, alleyways and multi-storey car parks). Similarly, Coakley's (2003) study expanded on an extensive study on women's urban social geographies in Cork, Ireland with 197 women and found that women reported feeling unsafe in public space, with 93% reporting feelings of fear. Scandinavian studies like Koskela's (1997, 1999) qualitative study in Helsinki, Finland, which interviewed 18 women and collected written stories from 25 women about their fear of violence, also reported similar findings. The women interviewed were between 22 and 43 years of age and the women who wrote the stories were between 26 and 82 years of age (Koskela, 1997, 1999). The women in Koskela's (1997, 1999) study also constructed closed-spaces such as underpasses, tunnels, dead-ends, multi-storey car parks, deserted parks and forests as dangerous. This finding is similar to other research in North America and the UK, which locates risk in these particular public spaces (Hollander, 2000; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Valentine, 1989).

Research indicates that individuals try to separate themselves physically from those they fear and perceive as threatening (Allen, 2002; Bremner, 2004; Lemanski, 2004, 2006; Pain, 1997). A local example of a residential response to this fear of public spaces is the development of gated communities in predominantly White suburbs in South Africa (Bremner, 2004; Lemanski, 2004, 2006). Gated communities have risen out of a response to the narrative of fear in post-apartheid South Africa (Ballard, 2004; Bremner, 2004; Hamber, 2000). Lemanski (2006) argues that replacing public spaces with private spaces only increases the perceived risk and danger of public spaces. It is also incompatible with post-apartheid goals of diversity, inclusion and freedom (Lemanski, 2006). However, despite the strong role that the built environment plays in the fear of violence, changing the built environment will not eradicate the fear of violence against women (Koskela & Pain, 2000; Pain, 2000). Literature indicates that the fear of violence against women and the levels of this violence are not determined by the built environment, but hinge on systems of patriarchy and gender-inequalities, which work together to remind women of their subordinate position in society (Gqola, 2007; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Pain, 2000).

Personal experiences of violence intensified fear amongst the women in Koskela's (1997, 1999) study. Scott (2003) also found in their quantitative study based on the data from the Canadian Violence against Women Survey of 1993, which surveyed 12300 women over the age of 18, that women who had experienced one or more incidences of violence, were significantly more likely to report feeling worried and fearful at home than those that had not. Koskela (1997, 1999) found that despite this fear the women in her study also actively worked to reclaim public spaces and demonstrated high levels of spatial confidence. However, Finland is renowned for its

gender equality and women's use of public space is not as restricted as Anglo-American contexts (Koskela, 1997, 1999). Theorists argue that public spaces are constructed as masculine and women are afforded less rights to public spaces than men, which is an expression of the patriarchal relations and gender-inequalities in society (Day, 2001; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989; Yodanis, 2004). Koskela (1997, 1999) argues that the individual use of space is not based on personal choice but is a product of social power relations. This argument is similar to Valentine's (1989) research, which characterised women's fear as a 'spatial expression of patriarchy'. Yodanis (2004) confirmed this in a comprehensive study of 27 countries in Europe and North America, which found that the structure of gender inequality in a society is positively correlated to the incidence of violence against women in society.

Since the demise of apartheid in 1994, there has been a strong narrative of fear in South Africa due to the high levels of sexual and violent crime in the country (Allen, 2002; Ballard, 2004; Bremner, 2004; Britton, 2006; Burton et al., 2004; Du Toit, 2005; Hamber, 2000; Lemanski, 2004, 2006; Møller, 2005; StatsSA, 2012). Despite this there is still not enough research on the fear of violence and crime in South Africa, specifically focusing on women. The National Victims of Crime Survey in South Africa of 2003 reported that the number of people that fear crime has doubled since 1998 (Burton et al., 2004). Furthermore, women fear rape and sexual assault the most (Burton et al., 2004). In 2012, 29.8% of South Africans feared sexual offences, including rape, which is a significant statistic (StatsSA, 2012). The National Victims of Crime Survey of 2012 found that women in South Africa felt significantly less safe than men walking alone during the day and night (StatsSA, 2012). The study also indicated that 62,8% of male household heads and only 37,2% of female household heads felt safe walking alone during

the day; and 64,1% of male household heads and only 35,9% of female household heads felt safe walking alone during the night (StatsSA, 2012). These statistics highlight the gendered dimensions of fear in public spaces. The impact of the fear of crime in the National Victims of Crime Survey of 2012 shows that a large proportion of the population in South Africa do not engage in day-to-day activities because of the fear of crime, with more than a third of the households (35,1%) avoiding open spaces when they are alone and 23,2% of households would not allow their children to play in the community or walk around freely (StatsSA, 2012). Other activities that individuals restricted as a result of the fear of crime, included limiting their use of public transport; walking to shops, town or work; allowing children to play or walk around the community; keeping livestock or investing in a business (StatsSA, 2012).

The rise in gated communities and closing off public spaces in predominantly White suburbs in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town can also be seen as a side effect of the strong narrative of fear in South Africa (Allen, 2002; Ballard, 2004; Bremner, 2004; Hamber, 2000; Lemanski, 2004, 2006). However, the gendered nature of the rise of gated communities in predominately White suburbs has not been sufficiently unpacked in research. Furthermore, the National Victims of Crime Survey of 2012 measures which racial groups limit their day-to-day activities as a result of the fear of crime, according to the different provinces in South Africa and do not make a distinction based on the gender or age of the individual (StatsSA, 2012). This is a surprising oversight since previously cited statistics in the report indicate that women fear public spaces significantly more than men in South Africa. The National Victims of Crime Survey needs to expand their section on the impact of the fear of crime by conducting the survey not only in terms of provinces and racial groups, but also in terms of gender and age. This will help

us locate which specific demographic group fears crime the most in South Africa, allowing us to conduct more research with this group. However, the National Victims of Crime Survey is a quantitative study and quantitative research on women's experiences of fear of crime or violence in this context, although useful, fails to capture the complex experience of fear. In quantitative research the mental and social processes behind fear remain hidden and qualitative research, in particular narrative research, is needed to explore this complex experience (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Koskela, 1999). The need for more qualitative research on women's experiences of the fear of violence in South Africa is therefore evident.

2.2.2. The Spatial Paradox of Fear: The Stranger Danger Discourse

A discourse of stranger danger has emerged in the literature on women's fear of public spaces in research based in the US, UK and Europe (Coakley, 2003; Day, 2001; Hollander, 2000, 2001, 2002; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004) and in South Africa (Allen, 2002; Bremner, 2004; Collins, 2013; Doeskun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Lemanski, 2004, 2006; Posel, 2005a). However, this is a 'spatial paradox' because the majority of violence exists between individuals who know each other and extensive research locates the risk of violence in the private sphere (Jewkes et al., 2002; Pain, 1997; StatsSA, 2012; Vetten, 1997; Vogelman, 1990). Pain's (1997) research is the first extensive study of women's fear of violent crime in a British city. It explores the spatial patterns of women's fear and how social identities mediate its extent and impact. Pain (1997) revealed that women located the fear of violent crime in public spaces and associated dark, lonely and unfamiliar spaces with danger. Furthermore, younger women were found to be

more fearful of encountering sexual violence in public spaces than older women. Hollander's (2000) US-based study explores her teaching method of requiring university students to keep 'fear journals' in their gender and violence class at the University of Oregon. Students were required to write about their feelings of fear, their precautionary strategies and analyze the role that fear plays in their lives (Hollander, 2000). Class discussions were facilitated around the students' fear journals. Hollander (2000) found that the levels of fear were dependent on gender (women were more fearful than men) and sexual orientation (homosexual men felt more fearful than heterosexual men, however there were only heterosexual women in this study so gender comparisons cannot be drawn in this specific example). Both men and women in the study feared male strangers in public spaces and women felt most afraid in the street at night with a male stranger (Hollander, 2000). Similarly, Koskela (1997, 1999) found that in Finland women also constructed public spaces as dangerous and evoking fear.

The trend of the spatial paradox and the stranger danger discourse also appears to be prevalent in South African discourse (Allen, 2002; Collins, 2013; Doeskun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Posel, 2005a). Dosekun (2007, 2013) conducted a study with 15 women studying and working at UCT, comprising of seven White women, five Black African women and three Coloured women, who labelled themselves as never experiencing rape. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with these women and discourse analysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Dosekun (2007, 2013) wanted to explore whether women, who have never experienced rape are still affected by the fear and risk of rape in their own lives. Gordon and Riger (1991) called this fear of rape 'the female fear' in their work on women's fear of violence. Dosekun (2007, 2013) found that these women discursively distanced the actual occurrence and

threat of rape from their immediate social world. One of the White women in this study argued that rape occurs in impoverished Black communities, displaying her attempt to 'other' rape (Dosekun, 2007, 2013). The women in the study positioned the stranger danger discourse as central to their fear surrounding sexual violence, locating 'men who rape' as outside their "relatively privileged social worlds" (Dosekun, 2007, p. 98).

Posel (2005a, p. 242) argues that the construction of the rapist as the "faceless, predatory stranger" is common in rape discourse in South Africa. This finding is aligned with other research which shows that women typically construct the stranger as the perpetrator (Allen, 2002; Collins, 2013; Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Gavey, 2005; Hollander, 2000; Posel, 2005a; Russell, 1984; Scott, 2003; Turchik et al., 2009; Valentine, 1989). Allen (2002) conducted qualitative interviews with 15 White women in Johannesburg on fear of crime, in which they constructed strangers, in particular 'young Black men' as the perpetrators. This was also found in Dosekun's (2007) research in which the White women in the study constructed the perpetrator as 'Black' and from an impoverished area. There is currently a popular discourse amongst women in South Africa to imagine the rapist as Black and a stranger (Allen, 2002; Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Everitt-Penhale, 2013; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Posel, 2005b). This racialised narrative of fear and violence in South Africa is embedded in apartheid's history of racial oppression.

Despite the research that indicates that women locate fear in public spaces and invest in the stranger danger discourse, the majority of risk still exists in the private sphere (Jewkes et al., 2002; Pain, 1997; StatsSA, 2012; Vetten, 1997; Vogelman, 1990). The National Victims of Crime Survey of 2012 reported that in South Africa a large proportion (44.1%) of attackers were

known community members; 17% were victim's relatives; 15.4% were unknown community members and only 14.4% were strangers from outside the community (StatsSA, 2012). The survey further reports that 30% of sexual violence occurs in the victim's home; 25.1% in someone else's home; 33% in open spaces such as parks or a field; 18.5% in a street in a residential area; 15% in an entertainment area/bar; 14.1% in streets outside offices/shops and the least likely place (0.2%) was at political rallies and public transport stations (StatsSA, 2012). These statistics emphasise this 'spatial paradox' because in the majority of cases the perpetrator is known to the victim and the attack occurs in the victim's home or in the home of someone known to the victim. Despite evidence of this spatial paradox the discourse of stranger danger is still popular and literature suggests that an investment in this discourse may allow women to mitigate feeling of anxiety and distress as they are able to distance themselves from the fear that they may be victimised themselves one day (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Locating danger in the stranger may be seen as a preventative strategy for women as it allows them to feel they are gaining a degree of control in a fearful context.

2.2.3. Discourses of Responsibility: Constructing Precautionary Strategies

Research has found that in the context of fear and violence women position themselves as responsible for avoiding violence, in particular sexual violence, and construct precautionary strategies to protect themselves (Campbell, 2002a; Coakley, 2003; Doeskun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Hollander, 2000, 2001, 2002; Huff, 1997; Koskela, 1999; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004). Most of the literature on the precautionary strategies women construct to avoid violence is based in the

US, UK and Europe (Campbell, 2002a; Coakley, 2003; Hollander, 2001, 2002; Huff, 1997; Koskela, 1999; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004). Pain's (1997) study on women's fear of violent crime in a British city, found that women developed precautionary strategies to combat this fear, such as not going out alone; being watchful when walking; avoiding particular streets or avoiding certain types of public transport. Huff (1997) writes about her own precautionary strategies she constructed to avoid unwanted sexual attention and violence, whilst conducting fieldwork with male participants. She states: "...I often pulled back my hair, did not wear much make-up, rarely wore earrings, and dressed down" (Huff 1997, p. 123). Huff (1997) argues that when the responsibility is placed on women to ward off the sexual advances and attention of men, it places women in a position of responsibility for their own sexual identity and how men interact with such an identity. Research also indicates that women both fear men and use them as protective strategies (Gordon, 2009; Hollander, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004). Valentine (1989), for example, found that women constructed men as protectors and sought out boyfriends and male friends to protect them.

Research indicates that men express less fear, less 'safety talk' and constructed fewer, if any precautionary strategies than women, whilst women practiced a broad range of precautionary strategies and had expressive narratives of fear (Hollander, 2000, 2001; Sandberg & Tollefsen's, 2010; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Sandberg and Tollefsen's (2010) research amongst young men and women in a Swedish city, found that not only did men not express fear but also they constructed narratives of instilling fear in others and not narratives of 'feeling' fear like the women in the study. However, Sandberg and Tollefen's (2010) study is situated within the

specific context of the female fear of rape. Research shows that this absence of male narratives of fear may be a response to the social pressures associated with masculine gender roles, which prohibits men from expressing vulnerability and fear, whilst constructions of femininity sanction these vulnerable expressions (Connell, 1995; Hollander, 2000, 2001; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). This is substantiated through research like Sutton and Farrall's (2005) study, which surveyed 288 respondents, 176 women, and 112 men, who were over 16 years of age and lived in the Strathclyde area of Scotland. The survey consisted of a lie scale and a fear measure. The findings revealed correlations which showed that "men who are most concerned with distorting their responses for self-presentational reasons report the lowest levels of fear" (Sutton & Farrall, 2005, p. 219). This pattern did not occur amongst the female respondents and these findings suggest that masculine gender roles are not compatible with reporting fear of crime, which leads to a suppression of this fear amongst male participants in research studies (Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

There appears to be a link in the literature between the perceived vulnerability of certain genders and the precautionary strategies constructed. Hollander's (2001, 2002) qualitative research explored the construction of gender through conversations about violence. Thirteen focus groups with 76 men and women in Seattle, Washington between 1994 and 1997 were conducted and conversational analysis was utilised (Hollander, 2001, 2002). Women constructed precautionary strategies in which they constantly monitored their environment for danger; dressed modestly; didn't go out at night; had male friends and boyfriends accompany them for protection; restricted activities and limited their use of public spaces (Hollander, 2001). The men in the focus groups did not mention any precautionary strategies they employed and the emphasis

on women's construction of precautionary strategies was linked to their perceived vulnerability in public spaces (Hollander, 2001). Mehta's (1999) qualitative study on 38 male and 31 female university students' experiences of physical and sexual abuse in urban space in Edinburgh, UK used open-ended questionnaires and feminist post-structuralist theory to explore the embodied discourse, investments, emotions and subject positions embedded in the issue of gender and the fear of violence. Mehta (1999) found that female respondents were far less confident than male respondents in their ability to handle violent situations. Men in the study positioned themselves as being able to 'handle' violent situations and this positioning was associated with fearlessness and physical mastery, reflecting their hegemonic masculine gender roles (Mehta, 1999). Hollander (2001) and Mehta (1999) found that both men and women constructed women as vulnerable and men as dangerous in their everyday talk about violence and danger. Research on the fear of violence indicates that the female body is constructed as vulnerable, subordinate and physically powerless in the face of male violence (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollander, 2000, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Valentine, 1989, 1997). In light of this research precautionary strategies appear to be a natural and normalized reaction to how the female body is socially constructed in dominant discourse.

Research revealed popular precautionary strategies amongst women and the possibility that precautionary strategies may also intensify feelings of fear (Coakley, 2003; Scott, 2003). Coakley's (2003) extensive study on women's urban social geographies in Cork, Ireland also found that women constructed precautionary strategies, with spatial avoidance as the most popular strategy. Spatial avoidance refers to how women avoid spaces, usually in the public sphere, where they perceive the risk of sexual violence to be high (Coakley, 2003). Scott (2003)

surveyed the protective strategies that women used to avoid violence using data from the Canadian Violence against Women Survey of 1993 and the following strategies were found to be the most common: not using public transport after dark (78.1%); not using parking garages alone at night (75.4%); checking the back seat of the car (61.6%) and locking the car doors when alone (63.5%). The most striking finding in Scott's (2003) study was that protective strategies, with the exception of taking self-defence classes, which was perceived as one of the least common protective strategies, were the strongest predictor of fear in women. In this regard, precautionary strategies, which are constructed and followed with the intention of protecting oneself against violence and the fear of violence, can be perceived as counter-productive as they actually intensify feelings of fear in women (Scott, 2003). Constructing precautionary strategies also positions women in a discourse of responsibility, which may lead to victim-blaming as women feel responsible for the violence perpetrated against them (Campbell, 2002a; Stanko, 1996).

However, despite this argument surrounding the counter-effects of constructing precautionary strategies, research suggests that precautionary strategies may also represent acts of resistance (Hollander, 2002; Wade, 1997). Hollander (2002) argues that the actions embedded in these precautionary strategies may symbolise the way women resist discourses of gender vulnerability. Hollander's (2002) qualitative study on the discursive constructions of gender in conversations about violence found talk surrounding safety and the measures women take to protect themselves. Hollander (2002) also found 17 instances of resistance in which women state they weren't fearful. This is similar to the findings in Mehta's (1999) study where many of the women in the study wrote about not allowing the fear of violence to "ruin" their lives or restrict their freedom (p. 74). Research indicates that women's statements of resistance and their efforts

to reclaim public spaces represent a trend in the research on gender and the fear of violence (Hollander, 2002; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Mehta, 1999). These acts of resistance challenge the social construction of women as fearful and vulnerable, shattering gender expectations (Hollander, 2002). Wade (1997) argues that it is important to recognise the everyday acts of resistance in these contexts of violence and to acknowledge the precautionary strategies that women adopt to resist violence. Wade's (1997) study is a response-based family therapist's analysis of two of his female clients who both suffered childhood abuse. Wade (1997) found that denying acts of resistance undermine the agency of these women and their therapeutic progress. Post-structuralist theorists posit that gender identity is neither fixed nor freely chosen and subjects are capable of both resistance and compliance (Hollway, 1984; Mehta, 1999; Weedon, 1987). Exploring both acts of resistance and compliance are essential to understanding how women construct their identity in contexts of violence and fear.

There is limited South African research on how young women construct precautionary strategies to avoid violence, creating the need for more South African research in this area. The women in Doeskun's study (2007, 2013) at UCT reported precautionary strategies such as only using public transport during the day and being escorted home at night by family members, as ways to avoid violence. Gordon and Collins (2013) qualitative research on how female students at UKZN discursively construct their understandings of gender-based violence and safe sex practices, found that young women constructed themselves as responsible for avoiding violence and negotiating this fear. They constructed precautionary strategies to avoid gender-based violence. These precautionary strategies were embedded with rules women were expected to follow. Rules such as: do not drink alcohol with men; do not wear short skirts; do not flirt with

men; do not walk alone at night; and even avoid smiling, were listed by these women in the study (Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013). In light of the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa and the strong narrative of fear in the country there needs to be more research in South Africa on the precautionary strategies women construct.

2.2.4. Summary: Reviewing Research on Women and the Fear of Violence

A review of the literature surrounding women and the fear of violence revealed the following themes: the fear of public spaces; the spatial paradox and stranger danger discourse and constructing precautionary strategies. Women typically located fear in public spaces and positioned the stranger as the perpetrator. As a result of this strong narrative of fear women construct precautionary strategies to protect themselves, emphasising the important role that the fear of violence plays in their daily lives. The National Victims of Crime Survey of 2012 has shown that the fear of violence in South Africa poses a significant problem, as it limits and restricts the lives of individuals (StatsSA, 2012). Kelly and Radford (1996) argue that the fear generated from the prevalence of violence in their society, constitutes violence in itself, highlighting the severity of this problem in South Africa. There is currently not enough research in South Africa, which explores women's experiences of the fear of violence, with most research being situated in North America, the UK and Europe. This creates the need for more research like this present study. The existing research on fear of crime and violence focuses on public spaces and neglects the domestic nature of violence against women, ignoring the impact of intimate partner violence (Stanko, 1995). These studies construct women as only fearing 'the male stranger' and do not ask important questions surrounding domestic and intimate assault (Stanko, 1995). The prevalence of violence against women in South Africa is well documented

and research has shown that violence occurs mostly in the context of intimate relationships (Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009; Dunkle et al., 2004b, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Mathews et al., 2004; Palmary, 2006; Van Rensburg, 2007; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998, 2001; Wood et al., 1996, 2008). The next section will address this issue by reviewing qualitative literature on young women's experiences of violence, specifically focusing on intimate partner violence.

2.3. Qualitative Research on Women's Experiences of Violence against Women

This section reviews qualitative research on women's experiences of violence against women, focusing on intimate partner violence which research indicates is widely prevalent in South Africa (Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009; Dunkle et al., 2004b, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Mathews et al., 2004; Palmary, 2006; Van Rensburg, 2007; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998, 2001; Wood et al., 1996, 2008). The qualitative research on young women's experiences of violence against women in South Africa helps shed light on how women understand and experience this violence, as well as themselves. Qualitative research also provides the space for women to express their own definitions of violence and give meaning to these experiences (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011). Primary focus will be placed on the experiences of young women in South Africa because this present study also samples young women. This section of the review includes qualitative studies primarily from the South African context, however several international studies are also reviewed. The following themes emerged in the review of women's experiences of violence: violence as normative and acceptable; violence as a form of discipline and minimising and justifying violence.

2.3.1. Violence as Normative and Acceptable

Chung (2007) conducted research with young women between the ages of 14 and 18 in South Australia and found in their interviews that dating relationships were part of the performance of heterosexual femininity for young women. Research also indicates that the female body is associated with vulnerability and perceived physical weakness (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollander, 2000, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Valentine, 1989, 1997). These are dangerous associations for women, especially for young women in South Africa as there is a high incidence of intimate partner violence and a widespread discourse of violence as normative emerging in research. There is substantial qualitative research, which constructs violence as normative and an acceptable part of heterosexual dating behaviour amongst the youth in South Africa, in the Eastern Cape (Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998, 2001; Wood et al., 1998, 2007, 2008), Western Cape (Shefer et al., 2000; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood et al., 1996) and KwaZulu-Natal (Sathiparsad, 2005). Wood and Jewkes (1997) conducted anthropological research in a township in Cape Town, among 24 Black African pregnant teenagers between the ages of 14 and 18 and found that violence was constructed as a regular part of their sexual relationships. Physical assault was also constructed as commonplace and informants were reported as saying "I fell in love with him because he beat me up" (Wood & Jewkes, 1997, p. 43). Wood et al. (2008) found in their ethnographic research on youth, aged between 18 and 25 years, in an urban township in the Eastern Cape, that another common saying was "if he beats you, he loves you" (p. 62). This fusion between 'love' and violence is a common theme in research on dating behaviour amongst the youth in South Africa (Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998;

Wood et al., 1996, 1998, 2007, 2008), Uganda (Wagman et al., 2008) and the US (Johnson et al., 2005).

Studies show that dating relationships are characterised by male dominance and unequal power relations (Petersen, Bhana, & McKay, 2005; Wagman et al., 2008; Wood et al., 1996; Wood & Jewkes, 1997). Power inequality in relationships was constructed as a central concern by young women in other research (Chung, 2005; Khan, Rob, & Hossain, 2000; Peterson et al., 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Wagman et al., 2008; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood et al., 1996, 1998, 2008). Shefer et al. (2000) conducted research on violence in heterosexual experiences amongst 133 Black African and Coloured male and female students from the University of Western Cape (UWC), between the ages of 18 and 30. Focus groups and free association exercises were conducted and discourse analysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Shefer et al. (2000) found similar results in her study, which also intimately connected violence and coercion with notions of 'love' and intimate relationships. Wood et al. (1996) and Wood and Jewkes (1997) also found that men used violent strategies to 'force' their female partners into a sexual relationship, highlighting the normalisation of rape in dating relationships. This is similar to the findings reported in Wood and Jewkes (1998) ethnographic research on youth, aged between 16 and 26 years, in Umtata in the Eastern Cape, in which young women also reported coercive or physically forced sex by male partners. In fact, female refusal of sex was reported as one of the common causes of violence in this study (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Sexual coercion and 'forced sex' was found to be common place in intimate relationships amongst the youth, with sex generally considered the symbolic beginning of the relationship (Sathiparsad, 2005; Wagman et al., 2008; Wood & Jewkes 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 1996, 1998, 2007). Furthermore,

quantitative research suggests that in South Africa 30% of women's first 'sexual' encounters were forced (Buga, Amoko, & Ncayiyana, 1996; Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah, & Jordaan, 2001; Richter, 1996).

The emphasis on sexual availability and male sexual entitlement in intimate relationships is also linked to constructions of hegemonic masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005; Jewkes et al., 2011; Wagman et al., 2008). Research shows that in South Africa having multiple female sexual partners and emphasising sexual conquests were ways of 'performing' masculinity and were characteristics of hegemonic masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005; Hunter, 2004; Pattman, 2005; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). The prevailing discourses of masculinity as sexually aggressive and dominant were shown to contribute to intimate partner violence. Gavey (2005) argues that "normative heterosex provides the cultural scaffolding for rape" (p. 231). The term 'cultural scaffolding' refers to the discourses that sanction and support the unwanted 'sexual' experiences of women. Gavey (2005) argues that the constructions of aggressive male sexuality and passive female sexuality are normalized in society and provide a social pattern for coercive sexuality. Furthermore, the positioning of female sexuality as passive and constructions surrounding the vulnerability and subordinate nature of the female body contribute to the power-inequalities in intimate relationships (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Gavey, 2005; Gqola, 2007; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). The presence of aggressive sexual scripts for men, the absence of scripts of sexual desire for women and the construction of heterosex as centring on men's sexual needs, create a volatile dating environment for women, in which male violence can be seen as a normative reaction to these discourses (Farvid & Braun,

2006; Fine, 1988; Gavey, 2005; Jackson & Cram, 2003; Hollway, 1984, 1989; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer et al., 2000; Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

This argument is aligned with research which shows that youth construct the difference between 'forced sex' and 'rape' as based on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, with 'forced sex' in an intimate relationship not seen as rape (Khan et al., 2000; Wagman et al., 2008; Wood & Jewkes 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 1996, 2007). Similarly, Gavey (2005) argues that women may not label themselves as rape victims because their experiences do not fit the typical stranger rape script but may still acknowledge the presence of unwanted sex. The subject positioning of 'rape victim' is in contradiction in hegemonic cultural discourse to the subjectivities of 'wife', 'girlfriend' or 'partner' and as a result the label of 'rape victim' may be avoided (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Gavey, 2005). Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk (2011) found in their narrative research with 27 women of colour from marginalized areas in Cape Town, between the ages of 28 and 48 that women constructed the sexual coercion that occurred in their abusive relationships in a detached manner. The women spoke about the "the feeling of being raped" or "like somebody that's been raped" (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011, p. 279). They avoided labelling themselves as rape victims as this ran counter to their other identity scripts as wives and partners (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011). These findings highlight the current discourse of stranger rape scripts in South Africa and the normalisation of sexual violence in intimate relationships.

2.3.2. Violence as a Form of Discipline

Violence is constructed as a form of discipline in literature and research found that men used violence to punish and control their female partner's behaviour, in particular their sexual behaviour (Abeya, Afework, & Yalew, 2012; Barkhuizen, 2013; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Gill, 2004; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Mokwena, 1991; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 2007, 2008). McCarry (2009) found in their research with 43 young women and 34 young men, who are predominately White-Scottish youth, that when young people are confronted with the reality of intimate partner violence they offer numerous justifications and often blame the victim for provoking the attack. The male youth in the focus groups claimed that violence was seen as a response to their partner's inappropriate behaviour and constructed violence as a means of disciplining and regulating their girlfriend's behaviour (McCarry, 2009). Local research suggest similar findings and Wood and Jewkes (1998) ethnographic research found that men often used physical coercion to maintain their fantasies of power over women, reinforcing this 'violence as normative' discourse. Violence was used by young men as a way of imposing the 'rules' in a relationship and a means of enforcing discipline and control over female partners (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Shefer et al.'s (2000) research on violence in heterosexual experiences amongst 133 male and female students from UWC, also reported similar findings. Women claimed that if their partners found out they were unfaithful they were beaten (Shefer et al., 2000). These young women and men constructed violence as a means of regulating women's behaviour, in particular female sexuality (Shefer et al., 2000).

Research shows that young women in this context could be beaten for a variety of reasons, from suspected infidelity, infidelity, assertiveness, refusal to have sex, disobedience, being disrespectful, wearing inappropriate clothes or going out without their boyfriend's consent (Abeya et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 2007, 2008). Blaming women for the violence perpetrated against them helps men absolve any guilt or responsibility they feel (Vincent, 2008b). As a result, women who experience abuse may experience shame and blame themselves for 'provoking' their partner's abuse and choose to remain silent (Abeya et al., 2012; Gill, 2004; Kaur & Garg, 2010; Rao, 1997; Shiu-Thornton, Senturia, & Sullivan, 2005). Studies show that remaining silent about the abuse may also be a reaction to the fear of bringing shame or dishonour on one's family and a lack of social support (Abeya et al., 2012; Gill, 2004; Rao, 1997; Wagman et al., 2008). Coping strategies such as tolerating the abuse, self-defence, seeking help and disclosing to others has been highlighted in literature (Abeya et al., 2012).

Intimate partner violence also appears to be embedded in cultural practices. Wood (2005) conducted anthropological research amongst young men and women in the Transkei, Eastern Cape over an 18-month period, consisting of interviews, focus groups and participant-observation. Wood (2005) argues that: "Traditionally in Xhosa society, according to urban and rural elders, a married man was entitled to punish his wife with a 'slap' or action that did not draw blood or cause visible bruising or injury" (p. 311). Constructing intimate partner violence as a means to 'discipline' one's partner for 'disrespectful' behaviour normalizes this behaviour and robs women of agency. Wood et al. (2008) found that intimate partner violence was common

amongst men and women between the ages of 18 and 25 years in an urban township in the Eastern Cape and found that young men used violence to 'discipline' and control their female partners (Wood et al., 2007, 2008). Men were reported as taking violent measures to control their girlfriend's sexual activity, their interactions with other men, their alcohol consumption, their friendship groups and the way they dressed (Wood et al., 2008). These women reported being beaten and even stabbed by their boyfriends and tended to justify their perpetrators actions by blaming themselves for provoking their anger and subsequent attack (Wood et al., 2008). Similar results were found in Boonzaier and de La Rey's (2004) study, in which the men claimed their partners 'prompted' the attack by their 'inappropriate' behaviour.

Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk, (2011) found that women constructed their abuse as being associated with shame and images of being a 'bad' woman. The discourse of justifiable violence was prevalent across these women's narratives and the abuse levelled against them symbolised their punishment for being 'disobedient women' (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011). Barkhuizen (2013) conducted research with young male and female UCT students, between the ages of 18 and 26, on intimate partner violence in dating relationships and found that men were constructed as the authoritarians over their partners and dating violence was constructed as a means to discipline one's 'disobedient' female partner. In one example, a male participant compared hitting your girlfriend to disciplining a child (Barkhuizen, 2013). This example served as a justification for intimate partner violence and reinforces systems of patriarchy and the subordination of women.

This trend of violence as a means of discipline was also found in research on gang and group rape in South Africa. Mokwena's (1991) work on 'jackrolling' explores the group abduction and rape of young girls in Soweto. 'Jack-rollers', a gang originally from Soweto, which was formed around 1976, after the Soweto Riots, gang raped young girls or women still at school, with the intention of making them pregnant and ending their education (Mokwena, 1991; Vetten, 2000). These women were systematically targeted and raped to keep them within their designated roles and boundaries (Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005). Women were targeted because they were considered 'snobby' and raped by these men as a form of discipline (Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005). This specific gang rape phenomenon is seated in the deep political unrest in South Africa after 1976 and may be seen as a reaction to threatened masculinities, as the Soweto Riots created a generation of marginalized unemployed men deprived of education and opportunities. Wood's (2005) anthropological research amongst young men and women in the Transkei, Eastern Cape also explored group rape or 'stream-lining'. Wood (2005) defines the term 'stream-lining' as "two or more men having sex with a woman, usually but not always by coercive means" (p. 306). Wood (2005) found that 'streamlining' was often used to discipline women for 'disrespectful behaviour' such as being sexually unfaithful in a relationship or refusing a man's sexual advances. 'Streamlining' aimed to discipline, humiliate and shame women, destroying their confidence and reminding them of their designated place in society (Wood, 2005).

This discourse of justifiable violence is a common trend emerging from research. Within this discourse men are constructed as the 'guardians' of women and seen as responsible for policing women's sexual identity, often through violent means. Research shows that women are 'punished' when they behave 'inappropriately' and transgress from their specific roles and

categories (Abeya et al., 2012; Barkhuizen, 2013; Bennett et al., 2010; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Gill, 2004; Gontek, 2009; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Mokwena, 1991; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood et al., 2008). Moffett (2006, 2009) argues that women are punished for stepping out of their imposed gender-roles and their refusal to recognise their 'second-class status'. Women who refuse to accept their position in patriarchy and are considered to be living beyond 'accepted' heterosexual norms of dress, behaviour or desire, are ostracized and attacked (Bennett, 2010; Moffett, 2006, 2009). This can be seen in the extensive literature documenting the hate crimes against lesbians in South Africa, with Black African lesbians in impoverished communities the most at risk for homophobic violence (Anguita, 2012; Bennett et al., 2010; Gontek, 2009; Mkhize et al., 2010; Msibi, 2009; Morrissey, 2013; Muholi, 2004; Nel & Judge, 2008; POWA, 2010; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002; Wells & Polders, 2006). In South Africa violence against women appears to be rooted in justificatory narratives in apartheid discourses (Britton, 2006; Moffett, 2009; Vetten, 2000). Under apartheid the dominant group used oppressive methods to regulate Black Africans and similarly in post-apartheid South Africa the dominant group uses oppressive methods to regulate women (Moffett, 2009). Within this discourse of justificatory narratives punishing the 'other' (i.e. women or Black Africans) serves as a reminder of their 'second-class status' (Britton, 2006; Moffett, 2009; Vetten, 2000).

2.3.3. Minimising and Justifying Violence

Constructing violence as a means of disciplining and regulating the 'inappropriate' behaviour of women represents a justificatory narrative. The literature surrounding this justificatory narrative in which violence is constructed as a means of discipline is outlined in the

section above. For example, in Johnson et al.'s (2005) research amongst 120 African American youth and young adults, female participants were reported as saying "girls do things to boys to try to make them want to hit them" (p. 176) and these young women constructed abuse as an accepted form of regulation in their relationships. Research has also shown that physical and sexual coercion are often seen as normative features of a heterosexual relationship, which can mask intimate partner violence, making it difficult to recognise as such (Johnson et al., 2005; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Walker at al., 2004; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998, 2001; Wood et al., 1996, 1998, 2008). Research also indicates that both men and women tend to minimise intimate partner violence and represent this violence as 'just problems' in the relationship (Boonzaier, 2008; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004; Gill, 2004; Johnson et al., 2005; Kelly & Radford, 1996; McCarry, 2009). Gill's (2004) study with 18 South Asian women living in the UK, who were in abusive relationships, found that women minimised or 'forgot' the abuse perpetrated against them because it was an effective denial mechanism that helped them survive the abuse.

Boonzaier and de La Rey (2003, 2004) conducted narrative research with 15 Black African and Coloured women, between the ages of 30 and 52, in Mitchell's Plain in the Western Cape and found that women split off the abusive behaviour or 'bad traits' of their partners onto external forces, such as excessive alcohol use, in an effort to retain a positive image of their partners and their relationship. Kaur and Garg (2010) also found in their research with married women between the ages of 18 and 35 years in a rural community in India, that nearly all the women blamed alcohol for the abusive behaviour of their partners. Boonzaier and de La Rey's study (2000) attributed female participants blaming alcoholism for the abusive behaviour of their

partners, as motivated by their investment in a discourse of romantic love, in which they constructed being a wife and partner as integral to their identity. Talk about how they believed in the 'good' in their partner was prevalent and served to minimise and justify the intimate partner violence (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004). Similarly, Coates and Wade (2007) found that perpetrators used language to mitigate their responsibility of the violence by attributing it to similar external forces such as overwhelming emotion or substance abuse, such as alcohol abuse.

The use of language to conceal, mitigate, minimise and justify intimate partner violence and blame the victim was a common theme in these research studies (Boonzaier, 2008; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004; Coates & Wade, 2007; Richardson & Wade, 2010). Boonzaier (2008) conducted a narrative study with 15 heterosexual couples, who were between the ages of 28 and 48, and lived in the marginalized suburbs of Cape Town (the Cape Flats). These couples' relationships were characterised by violence and were accessed through two organizations that offered support to both perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence (Boonzaier, 2008). The author found that the men in the study tried to construct narratives in which they were *actually* 'non-violent', however both men and women in this study used mutualising language such as 'fight' or 'argument' to construct intimate partner violence as a reciprocal activity, ultimately minimising it (Boonzaier, 2008). This is similar to other research in Canada, which also revealed the use of mutualising language by both men and women to minimise intimate partner violence (Coates & Wade, 2007; Richardson & Wade, 2010). Coates and Wade (2007) argues that violence is both social and unilateral, in that it occurs between at least two people and entails the actions of one individual against the will of another.

2.2.4. Summary: Reviewing Qualitative Research on Women's Experiences of Violence against Women

A review of the literature surrounding the qualitative research on women's experiences of violence against women revealed the following themes: violence as normative and acceptable; violence as a form of discipline; and minimising and justifying violence. The majority of qualitative research on women's experiences of violence against women focuses on intimate partner violence and dating behaviour. This is understandable as research shows that you are more likely to be attacked (physically or sexually) by someone you know than by a stranger (Jewkes et al., 2002; Russell, 1984; StatsSA, 2012; Vetten, 1997; Vogelman, 1990). Research also highlights how discourses surrounding masculinity are one of the significant drivers behind intimate partner violence in South Africa, highlighting the importance of exploring constructions of gender in conversations about fear and violence. There needs to be more qualitative research, which explores this association between masculinity and sexual aggression in dating relationships amongst the youth. However there is also a need for more literature, which explores how women experience the social problem of violence against women in South Africa in general, and not just in terms of their intimate partner relationships. There is also insufficient research on how female university students experience this culture of violence against women in South Africa, creating the need for more research like this present study. Much of the qualitative research on violence against women in South Africa focuses on primarily Black African women and few studies, with the exception of Russell's (1997) text on White female sexual abuse and incest survivors, focus exclusively on the White population. This highlights the need for more research on violence against women amongst all racial groups in the South African context.

2.4. The Consequences of Violence against Women

Violence against women can result in a wide range of adverse physical and mental health problems for survivors. In this chapter I have tried to review primarily research based in the Sub-Saharan African context, relevant to the context of this thesis. However, there are limited studies which focus on the adverse health outcomes of violence against women in the Sub-Saharan African context (Gass, Stein, Williams, & Seedat, 2010), with the majority of local research focusing on the prevalence of violence against women; risks and causes associated with it and the interrelationship between gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS. This gap in the literature creates the need for more empirical research exploring the physical and mental health consequences of violence against women in South Africa, in particular how this culture of violence against women affects the identity construction of women. There is currently substantial literature in the Sub-Saharan African context which focuses on the link between violence against women and the risk of HIV infection (Campbell, 2008; Dunkle et al., 2004a, 2004b; Fonck, Els, Kidula, Ndinya-Achola, & Temmerman, 2005; Fox et al., 2007; Gordon, 2009; Hendriksen, Pettifor, Lee, Coates, & Rees, 2007; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Jewkes et al., 2006; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Leach, 2002; Maman et al., 2002; Martin & Curtis, 2004; Shefer et al., 2000; Strebel et al., 2006; Van der Straten et al., 1998; Van Rensburg, 2007; Walker et al., 2004; WHO, 2013), which will be explored because of its relevance to the South African context.

2.4.1. Physical Health Outcomes

2.4.1.1. Immediate Physical Health Outcomes. Immediate physical health outcomes from intimate partner violence range from minor injuries (bruises, abrasions, cuts, punctures and

bites) to more serious injuries such as injuries to the ears, eyes, fractures, broken teeth and head injuries, with death seen as the culmination of this abuse (Ellsberg, Jansen, Heise, Watss, & Garcia-Moreno, 2008). Head, face, musculoskeletal and genital injuries are the most common physical injuries sustained as a result of physical abuse (WHO, 2013). Abrahams et al. (2009) conducted a mortality study of women in South Africa amongst 25 mortuaries and found that out of the 3797 female homicides 50.3% were as a result of intimate partner violence. The national mortality rate for women was twice that of the mortality rate for women in the US, emphasising the magnitude of the problem of intimate partner violence in South Africa (Abrahams et al., 2009).

2.4.1.2. Overall Physical Health Outcomes. There is substantial research which links physical and sexual abuse with overall poor health outcomes in women (Brokaw et al., 2002; Bonomi, Anderson, Rivara, & Thompson, 2007; Constantino, Sekula, Rabin, & Stone, 2000; Dutton et al., 2006; Gass et al., 2010; WHO, 2013; Women, 2002). Gass et al. (2010) conducted quantitative research amongst a nationally representative sample of 1229 married or cohabitating couples in South Africa, in which they assessed exposure to intimate partner violence, health-risk behaviours, health-seeking behaviours and chronic physical illness. Data was drawn from the South African Stress and Health (SASH) study of 4351 South African adults (age <18), which was a nationally representative psychiatric epidemiological survey conducted between 2002 and 2004 (Gass et al., 2010). The study found that compared to non-abused women, abused women were 1.9 times more likely to report current smoking; 2.4 times more likely to report regular drinking and the non-medical use of sedatives; and 48 times more likely to report using cannabis in the last 12 months (Gass et al., 2010). The WHO multi-country study on women's health and

domestic violence also found that harmful alcohol and substance abuse has been linked to experiencing physical and sexual abuse (WHO, 2013). These high risk health behaviours are associated with poor health outcomes. Gass et al. (2010) also found that compared to non-abused women, abused women were 1.5 times more likely to have visited a doctor and nearly twice as likely to have visited a traditional healer in the past 12 months. However, Gass et al. (2010) could not associate intimate partner violence with chronic illness however, headaches ($p=0.069$), heart attacks ($p=0.051$) and high blood pressure ($p=0.080$) reached near significance levels. Gass et al. (2010) is one of the few empirical studies in South Africa, which investigates the adverse health outcomes associated with violence against women, creating a need for more research in this area.

US-based medical studies have found a link between violence against women and lowered immune system functioning for survivors of abuse (Brokaw et al., 2002; Constantino et al., 2000). Bonomi et al. (2007) found in their US-based study of 2876 randomly sampled insured women, that women that experienced physical and sexual intimate partner violence were 54% more likely to report fair or poor health and experienced more adverse health problems than women who had just been physically abused. This finding highlights the detrimental and long-term impact that both physical and sexual violence can have on overall health as compared to physical abuse alone, which appears to be a trend across other research as well (Bonomi et al., 2007; Campbell et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 2006). Furthermore, in the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence, women in Japan, Brazil and Peru were twice as likely than non-abused women to report overall poor health (WHO, 2013; Women, 2002).

2.4.1.3. Reproductive Health Outcomes. Poor reproductive health outcomes emerged as a theme in the literature on the adverse health outcomes associated with violence against women (Campbell, 2002b; Dutton et al., 2006; Emenike, Lawoko, & Dalal, 2008; Lipsky, Holt, Easterling, & Critchlow, 2004; Plichta, 2004; Sarkar, 2008; Women, 2002; WHO, 2013). Campbell et al., (2002) conducted a case-controlled US-based study with two groups. The first group consisted of 201 women who identified as being physically and/or sexually abused and the second group consisted of 240 women who had never been abused (Campbell et al., 2002). The study found that abused women experienced more health problems than women who had never been abused such as more headaches, back pain, sexually transmitted diseases (STDS), digestive problems, abdominal pain, vaginal infections and pelvic pain (Campbell et al., 2002). A striking finding in this study was that 30% of women who had experienced sexual violence, with or without histories of physical abuse, reported three or more gynaecological problems compared to the eight percent of women from 'the never been abused' control group (Campbell et al., 2002). This highlights the gynaecological health consequences of sexual violence. The study recorded a staggering 50%-70% increase in gynaecological, central nervous system and stress-related health problems amongst women who had been abused versus women who had not (Campbell et al., 2002). These findings are similar to Campbell and Soeken (1999) findings from their study, which they conducted three years prior to the Campbell et al. (2002) study. Campbell and Soeken (1999) conducted a survey with 159 primarily African American women who had been physically or sexually abused and found that those who had been sexually abused had more negative health consequences, in particular gynaecological health problems, than those who had been physically abused.

In terms of reproductive health antenatal hospitalisation was a risk associated with pregnant women exposed to intimate partner violence (Lipsky et al., 2004; Sarkar, 2008; WHO, 2013). Emenike et al. (2008) conducted quantitative research, which explores this association between intimate partner violence and reproductive health in Kenya using the Demographic and Health Survey in 2003, sampling 4312 women between the ages of 15 and 49 years. This study found a significant association between the physical, sexual and emotional abuse of women and negative reproductive outcomes such as infant mortality and terminated pregnancies (Emenike et al., 2008). Intimate partner violence has been associated with poorer reproductive health outcomes, such as reproductive disorders, pregnancy outcomes, induced abortion, low birth weight and prematurity (Campbell, 2002b; Dutton et al., 2006; Emenike et al., 2008; Lipsky et al., 2004; Plichta, 2004; Sarkar, 2008; Women, 2002; WHO, 2013). In fact, the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence found that women who have experienced physical or sexual abuse are twice as likely to experience induced abortions and are 16% more likely to have a low birth weight baby (WHO, 2013).

2.4.2. Mental Health Outcomes

Women who are exposed to physical and sexual abuse exhibit a range of mental health outcomes, such as depressive symptoms, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), suicidal thoughts and attempts and eating disorders (Burgess & Holmstom, 1974; Campbell, 2002b; Carbone-López, Kruttschnitt, & MacMillan, 2006; De Keseredy & Schwartz, 1998; Dutton et al., 2006; Ellsberg et al., 2008; Gill, 2004; Golding, 1999; Jewkes, Enn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, & Schrieber, 1999; Kaminer, Grimsrud, Myer, Stein, & Williams, 2008; Kaminer & Eagle, 2010; Mechanic, 2004; Payne & Edwards, 2009; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006; Russell, 1984; Wiklund,

Malmgren-Olssen, Bengs, & Őhman, 2010; WHO, 2013; Women, 2002). Rape trauma syndrome, first identified by Burgess and Holmstom (1974), also lists physical and psychological symptoms that survivors of sexual violence may experience, which are similar to symptoms of PTSD. These symptoms also found amongst other studies include: reoccurring nightmares, difficulties falling asleep, hopelessness, feelings of isolation, flashbacks, avoidance of triggers that remind her of the event, inability to concentrate, hyper-vigilance, severe anxiety and lowered academic performance (Burgess & Holmstom, 1974; De Keseredy & Schwartz, 1998; Payne & Edwards, 2009; Russell, 1984).

There is substantial research, which links depressive symptoms with physical, sexual and psychological abuse (Bonomi et al., 2007; Carbone-López et al., 2006; Dutton et al., 2006; Ellsberg et al., 2008; Golding, 1999; Jewkes et al., 1999; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006). Jewkes et al. (1999) conducted a cross-sectional study in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Northern Cape in South Africa and found that mental distress, such as suicidal thoughts was associated with abuse. Carbone-López et al. (2006) found in their US-based study, which used data from the National Violence against Women Survey, which randomly sampled 8005 men and 8000 women in the US, that women who experienced systematic (physical, psychological and sexual) abuse are three times more likely to experience serious depression and four times more likely to report a mental health problem. Since this is a nationally representative sample, this finding can be generalised to the greater US population (Carbone-López et al., 2006). Bonomi et al. (2007) found in their US-based study of 2876 randomly sampled insured women, that compared with women who only experienced physical intimate partner abuse “increased rates of depressive and severe depressive symptoms were observed in women with experiences of sexual intimate

partner violence (depressive symptoms, 49% increase; severe depressive symptoms, 61% increase) or both physical and sexual IPV (depressive symptoms, 41% increase; severe depressive symptoms, 54% increase)" (p. 993). These findings highlight the significant adverse mental health effects of sexual violence as compared to physical violence, which has been shown to persist for many years after the abuse (Bonomi et al., 2007; Dutton et al., 2006).

Ellsberg et al. (2008) report on the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence linked self-reported mental health problems and suicidality with intimate partner violence. Ellsberg et al. (2008) found that women who experienced at least one episode of abuse reported more depressive symptoms, suicidal thoughts and attempts than women who had never been abused. In fact, the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence found that women who have experienced physical or sexual abuse are twice as likely to experience depression (WHO, 2013). Pico-Alfonso et al. (2006) found similar results in their Spanish-based quantitative study on the impact of physical, psychological, and sexual intimate partner violence on women's mental health, in which 75 physically and psychologically abused women, 55 psychologically abused women and 52 non-abused women were interviewed. Women who had been physically or psychologically abused experienced more severe symptoms of depression and anxiety than the non-abused control group of women (Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006). There was no difference in the severity of symptoms between the women who had been both physically and psychologically abused versus psychologically abused, demonstrating how psychological abuse is just as detrimental as physical abuse (Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006). Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk's (2011) narrative research on 27 women of colour from marginalized areas in Cape Town, between the ages of 28 and 48, found that women constructed

psychological abuse as more damaging to the self than physical violence. Furthermore, psychological abuse may contain the continuing threat of violence (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011).

Pico-Alfonso et al. (2006) found that women usually experienced depressive symptoms as co-morbid with PTSD and the incidence of PTSD alone was rare. This is aligned with Kaminer et al. (2008) study, which also found that PTSD was co-morbid with depression amongst women who have experienced physical, sexual or psychological abuse. Furthermore, Kaminer et al. (2008) found in their study amongst 4351 South African adults, which was a nationally representative sample, that physical and sexual violence was associated with the greatest number of cases of PTSD amongst women. However, literature suggests that most South Africans are subject to multiple traumatisations in their lifetime, both direct and indirect, highlighting how many South African women may suffer from long-term PTSD and depression (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). Survivors of prolonged trauma may have difficulty trusting others, experience social isolation and have difficulty regulating emotions such as anger or sadness, resulting in extreme emotional outbursts (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). Powdthavee (2005) is one of the only South African studies, which focuses on the only quality of life survey in terms of victim responses. This study uses data from the October Household Survey study of South Africa from 1997 and surveys 30, 000 households across 3000 community clusters (Powdthavee, 2005). Powdthavee (2005) found that victims reported lower well-being than non-victims did and non-victims living in high crime areas reported lower well-being and happiness levels than those living in low crime areas. This study highlights how well-being is adversely affected by the fear

of crime and the traumatic impact of living in a community characterised by high levels of violence (Powdthavee , 2005).

Quantitative research on the health outcomes of violence against women dominate the literature and qualitative research in this area is sparse. However, qualitative studies such as Wiklund et al. (2010), Gill (2004) and Shiu-Thornton et al. (2005) help shed light on the mental health consequences of violence against women, as it deepens our understanding of the experience of violence against women by allowing survivors to articulate their experiences more clearly. Wiklund et al. (2010) found in their narrative research on intimate partner violence and its consequences, in which they explored the narratives of two Swedish female adolescents, that women who have experienced intimate partner violence often experienced flashbacks and nightmares of the abuse, which is one of the symptoms of PTSD. These two women also constructed their bodies as crime scenes and found it difficult to enter into another intimate relationship after the abuse (Wiklund et al., 2010). They reported recurrent feelings of worthlessness, low self-esteem, existential distrust, difficulty sleeping, eating disorders, anxiety attacks and other symptoms of depression, commonly reported by survivors of intimate partner violence (Wiklund et al., 2010). Similarly, Gill's (2004) qualitative research on 18 South Asian women living in the UK, who were in abusive relationships, revealed that the self-esteem of these women suffered dramatically and they developed problems with depression and anxiety. Gill (2004) also found that the longer the women were in abusive relationships the worse their mental health problems became and the less able they were to leave these relationships. The study also found that women in abusive relationships might also internalise feelings of self-blame and shame (Gill, 2004). One of the women in Shiu-Thornton et al.'s (2005) study on 53

Vietnamese women survivors of domestic violence living in the US, likened the experience of being in an abusive relationship to "like a bird in a cage" (p. 959), encapsulating the claustrophobic and terrifying experience of abuse. Survivors' narrative accounts of sexual and gender-based violence in South Africa is also outlined in Russell's (1997) seminal text 'Behind closed doors in White South Africa' and Smith's (2001) 'Proud of me: Speaking out against sexual violence and HIV'. Russell (1997) outlines survivors experiences of sexual violence and the associated outcomes of this gender-based violence, which include: a negative impact on family relationships, negative self-image, depression and suicide, pessimism about relationships and future relationships, self-blame, self-destruction, dissociation, headaches and addiction.

2.4.3. Increased Risk of HIV Infection

South Africa currently has the largest population of individuals living with HIV/AIDS in the world, estimated at 6.3 million in 2013 (UNAIDS, 2013). HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa is considered a primarily heterosexual epidemic, with unprotected heterosexual sex as the major source of infection (Desgrées du Loû, 2005; Dunkle et al., 2008; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Long, 2009; O' Leary, 2000; Shisana, Rehle, Simbayi, Zuma, & Jooste, 2009). Women who are exposed to gender-based violence are at increased risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, as women who are raped or in abusive relationships lack the agency to introduce condom-use. The risk of virus transmission during rape is reportedly high, due to the likelihood of vaginal tearing (Human Rights Watch, 2001). However, Jewkes et al., (2010a) argue that from a population perspective intimate partner violence and gender inequality have a greater effect on the risk of HIV infection than the incidence of rape in South Africa, as they represent multiple prolonged indirect pathways to increased risk of HIV infection. There is currently extensive research on the

relationship between gender-based violence, specifically intimate partner violence, and the risk of HIV infection. Research indicates that women who are in abusive relationships, characterised by power and gender inequalities, are at increased risk of HIV infection as they are often unable to successfully negotiate safe sex (Campbell, 2008; Dunkle et al., 2004a, 2004b; Fonck et al., 2005; Fox et al., 2007; Gordon, 2009; Hendriksen et al., 2007; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2006, 2010a; Leach, 2002; Maman et al., 2002; Martin & Curtis, 2004; Shefer et al., 2000; Strebel et al., 2006; Van der Straten et al., 1998; Van Rensburg, 2007; Walker et al., 2004; WHO, 2013). The majority of research focusing on gender-based violence and the risk of HIV/AIDS was previously based in the US, however in the last 15 years there has been a substantial increase in Sub-Saharan African-based studies linking gender-based violence and the risk of HIV infection. In fact the majority of the literature on the health consequences of violence against women in South Africa, focus on the intersection between intimate partner violence and HIV/AIDS. This is understandable due to the nature of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa. However, more local research is needed, which focuses on the other adverse effects of violence against women.

There is extensive quantitative research documenting the link between gender-based violence and the risk of HIV infection in the Sub-Saharan context (Dunkle et al., 2004a, 2004b; Hendriksen et al., 2007; Jewkes et al., 2006, 2010a; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Leach, 2002; Maman et al., 2002; Martin & Curtis, 2004; Van der Straten et al., 1998; Van Rensburg, 2007). For example, a study in Rwanda with women in long-term relationships found that HIV positive women were more likely to experience intimate partner and sexual violence than women without HIV (Van der Straten et al., 1998). A study of 245 women who attended a voluntary counselling

and testing centre in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, also corroborate this link between gender-based violence and HIV infection and found that the odds of reporting intimate partner violence was 10 times higher among young (<30) HIV positive women than among young HIV negative women (Maman et al., 2002). Similarly, Dunkle et al. (2004b) cross-sectional study on 1366 women at antenatal heath centres in Soweto, found that women with violent or controlling male partners were at increased risk of HIV. Jewkes et al. (2010a) conducted a quantitative longitudinal study in the Eastern Cape and data from 1099 women aged between 15 and 26 years, who tested HIV negative at the baseline and then received at least one additional HIV test within two years of the baseline test, was collected. Gender power equity and intimate partner violence was measured. The study found that women who experienced intimate partner violence and high gender inequity had an increased incidence of HIV infection, establishing a strong causal link between intimate partner violence, gender inequity and HIV infection (Jewkes et al., 2010). However, this study can only generalize to rural women in South Africa and does not account for the urban population.

Van Rensburg's (2007) study, another quantitative study, explores the negotiation of condom-use in relationships. However, it fails to capture the complexity of this experience. Van Rensburg (2007) conducted a survey with 304 women in the Free State, to evaluate the impact of a service provision programme targeting women living with HIV/AIDS and gender based violence. Random sampling of individual households in these three areas was used to access the sample and qualitative semi-structured questionnaires administered in face-to-face interviews were conducted with these women (Van Rensburg, 2007). A quarter of respondents had been victims of sexual violence, however more than a third of these women convinced their

perpetrator to use a condom, displaying a level of negotiation skills (Van Rensburg, 2007). However, due to the quantitative nature of this study there is no further information surrounding this finding and it is not known how these women were able to negotiate successful condom-use in this dangerous context of sexual violence. A qualitative study would have been able to delve deeper into this issue and explore the meaning of these women's experiences. Hendriksen et al. (2007) explores these issues of negotiating condom-use further in their study on the correlates of condom-use among a national probability sample of 7686 sexually experienced young adults between 15 and 25 years of age in South Africa, using the data from the Reproductive Health and HIV Research Unit 2003 National Youth Survey. This study found that young women feared that introducing condom-use would demonstrate infidelity and distrust (Hendriksen et al., 2007). Unprotected sex was constructed as a sign of long-term commitment, intimacy and trust and this study found that women might engage in unprotected sex to communicate these feelings to their partner (Hendriksen et al., 2007). These findings are aligned with other qualitative research which found that condom-use may be constructed by male partners as an admission of infidelity or distrust, which could incite violence in the relationship and as a result is avoided (Fox et al., 2007; Hendriksen et al., 2007; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Streber et al., 2006; Walker et al., 2004). However, Hendriksen et al.'s (2007) study has its own limitations as only 35% of the sample reported having one sexual partner and a longitudinal study in this case is needed. Although the data in this study is taken from a national survey another limitation is that Black Africans are overrepresented (82.7 %) and Whites are underrepresented (37.7%) (Hendriksen et al., 2007).

The majority of research, which focuses on the interrelationship between gender-based violence and the risk of HIV infection, is quantitative, identifying the need for more qualitative

research in this field. Qualitative research allows researchers to explore the 'meaning' of experience and helps us delve deeper into this social problem, allowing us to go beyond the statistics. Hoosen and Collins' (2004) qualitative study, conducted focus groups with 58 Black African women, between the ages of 16 and 74, in an impoverished community in Durban on the topics of HIV/AIDS and sexual decision-making. Discourse analysis was used to analyse the data. Hoosen and Collins (2004) found that 80% of participants did not use condoms because their male partners refused to. Relationships were constructed as male-dominated, in which men were the authority figures in the relationship and were seen as solely responsible for sexual decision-making (Hoosen & Collins, 2004). The discourse in the focus groups suggested that most of the women's relationships were characterised by power imbalances and as a result these women lacked the agency to introduce condom-use in their relationships (Hoosen & Collins, 2004). This research highlights the need to change gender constructions, in particular the discourse of hegemonic masculinity that is currently prevalent in South Africa, as well as the construction of the 'male-dominated relationship' (Gordon, 2009; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Morrell, 2003; Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012; Peterson et al., 2005).

Strebel et al. (2006) explores the social constructions of gender-based violence, gender roles and HIV/AIDS in a qualitative study with men and women in two Black African and Coloured communities in the Western Cape. Interviews were conducted with members of relevant stakeholder organisations and single sex focus groups were conducted with community members (Strebel et al., 2006). Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Strebel et al. (2006) found similar results to Hoosen and Collins (2004) as both men and women constructed relationships as male-dominated, with the men being in control of decision-

making and holding the most power. Existing literature suggests that these male-dominated relationships are marked by gender and power inequalities, which often prevent women from successfully negotiating condom-use (Gordon, 2009; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Strebel et al., 2006). The qualitative research surrounding the interrelationship between gender-based violence and risk of HIV infection help solidify the argument that women who experience more gender power inequity and violence in their relationship are at greater risk of HIV infection (Fox et al., 2007; Gordon, 2009; Hoosen & Collins, Strebel et al., 2006; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Walker et al., 2004). This research suggests that changing gender identities and gender inequality in South Africa will reduce the risk of HIV infection, and should form part of HIV/AIDS prevention interventions.

2.4.4. Summary: Reviewing Research on the Consequences of Violence against Women

A review of the literature surrounding the consequences of violence against women revealed the following themes: physical health outcomes (immediate physical health outcomes, overall physical health outcomes and reproductive health), mental health outcomes and increased HIV infection. The majority of literature surrounding the health consequences of violence against women focus on the adverse physical and mental health consequences of intimate partner violence and are US-based studies (Campbell, 2002b). There is also currently a need for more longitudinal studies, which focus on the link between physical and sexual violence and direct and indirect physical and mental health consequences (Campbell et al., 2000; Plichta, 2004). Few studies on the consequences of violence against women have been conducted in South Africa, with the exception of studies on the increased risk of HIV infection. This creates a need for more empirical research in South Africa on the adverse health outcomes associated with violence

against women. Furthermore, literature on the consequences of violence against women focuses on medical discourse and does not accurately represent how women are affected by this violence. There is not enough qualitative research, which explores the consequences of violence against women and how it personally affects an individual's narrative and how they construct their identity (Wiklund et al., 2010). This present study attempts to readdress these gaps and represent how women are affected by the presence of violence against women in their community in South Africa, specifically exploring how a culture of violence against women affects the identity construction of women.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has identified and reviewed literature relevant to this study, specifically women's experiences of living in a culture of violence against women, focusing on three sections. The first section reviewed research on women and the fear of violence, which is primarily based in the US, UK and Europe, creating the need for more research in South Africa. The second section reviewed both local and international qualitative research on young women's experiences of violence against women, primarily exploring relevant trends in research on intimate partner violence in South Africa. The third section reviewed literature on the consequences of violence against women, exploring the physical and mental health outcomes; and increased risk of HIV infection. Furthermore, the psychiatric impact of prolonged exposure to violence against women and a chronically violent environment has also been sparsely researched in South Africa, creating the need for more research in this area (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). There is extensive research on masculinity in South Africa, however sparse research exists on the construction of women's identity in South Africa. These gaps in the literature and

the political and social significance of the problem of violence against women in South Africa create a need for this qualitative study. This doctoral study addresses several gaps in the literature as there are currently few studies, which look at the psychological (psychosocial) impact of a culture of violence against women and its relationship with identity construction. The following chapter explores the theoretical framework of the study, reviewing the major theories that underpin this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

May (1993) argues that "theory informs our thinking, which in turn assists us in making research decisions and sense of the world around us" (p. 20). The theoretical underpinning of a study is exceptionally important as it underlies our thesis statement and research question (our argument that young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in a culture of violence against women, such as South Africa) and informs the direction of our research. This chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of this research, namely the theory surrounding gender, trauma and the psychosocial subject. The first section explores how our ideas surrounding gender are socially constructed and produced through language. Exploring the theory of gender is highly relevant to this study as it engages with concepts of gender identity. The second section briefly reviews theory on trauma as this study also looks at experiences of violence. The third section explores the theory of psychosocial subject, which is used in this study to explore how women construct their identity, at both a social and individual level. The theory of the psychosocial subject involves an exploration of inner world, which engages with narrative theory and psychoanalysis, and the social world, which engages with social constructionist theory and the intersection between discourses and power.

3.2. Constructing Gender

Simone de Beauvoir (1989) argues that gender is a fluid concept, constructed by the society around us. She states:

> One is not born a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society: it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine (p. 249).

De Beauvoir (1989, p. 249) states that "it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature", which emphasizes how gender is socially constructed. Gender refers to the construction of social roles that operate through various mechanisms (Connell, 1995; Secretariat, 2008). These gender constructions reflect deeply rooted power relations and social roles that are typically associated with masculinity and femininity (Connell, 1995; Morrell, 1998). Men and women are socialized to adopt different social roles and behaviours, which vary depending on culture and time (Connell, 1995). Walkerdine (1989) argues that gender is performative and that women are positioned to play particular roles throughout their lives as a result of socialization. She argues that women are conditioned into passivity and submissiveness. Butler (1990, 2011) argues that we 'perform' gender and that gender is a verb rather than a noun, constructing gender as something we 'do' rather than what we 'are'. It is the way we speak, walk and act that create a particular impression of being a man or a woman (Butler, 1990). However Butler also argues that gender is characterized by its performativity and is not purely a performance as the performance itself constitutes subjectivity (Morison & Macleod, 2013). Butler (1990) contests that gender identity is produced through our actions and the social roles we position ourselves in, deconstructing any ideas of gender being 'natural'. Gender is a social construction that we perform in our everyday lives; in our discourse; in our roles as mothers, wives, 'career women' and so on. One does not refer to a man that works as a 'career man' however the term 'career

woman' is common in our everyday discourse. This is demonstrative of how our ideas about gender and what means to be a man or women are socially constructed.

Derrida argued that meaning is always deferred, it is therefore impossible to discuss femininity without broaching the topic of masculinity (Hughes, 2002). This is depicted in Derrida's concept of "diffêrance", which refers to how meaning is relational and occurs within a "play of differences" (Naffine, 1997, p.97). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that gender is always relational and "patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradistinction from some model (whether real or imaginary) of femininity" (p. 48). It can be argued that hegemonic masculinity exists in relation to this 'imagined construction' of femininity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Furthermore in order to understand hegemonic masculinity a more comprehensive discussion of gender hierarchy needs to take place, in which the relationship between the agency of subordinate groups such as women and the power of dominant groups such as men need to be recognised (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell, 1998). Du Randt (2012) argues that hegemonic masculinity is a series of practices in which men express power over the system through the subordination of women/feminine identity. This helps maintain patriarchal society and often these mechanisms, which reinforce hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal power relations are hidden. They are constructed as 'natural'. Research suggests that South African society is highly patriarchal with entrenched discourses of hegemonic masculinity and constructions of femininity that support this discourse (Morrell, 2003; Morrell et al., 2012; Peterson et al., 2005).

Naffine (1997) argues that "historically women have been defined negatively against the meaning of man" (p. 97) and unlike hegemonic masculinity there is no clear definition of hegemonic femininity as femininity is still relatively under-theorised (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Schippers, 2007). Pyke and Johnson (2003) conducted research on hegemonic femininity and subordinate femininity amongst Korean and Vietnamese second-generation women and found that hegemonic femininity mimics hegemonic masculinity. For example, women that conform to ideas of femininity, which support the subordination of women and hegemonic masculinity by accommodating the pursuits and desires of men, are rewarded by society and their peers (Connell, 1987). This can be considered hegemonic femininity. However, women who resist this dominant discourse of feminine identity that supports hegemonic masculinity are ostracized and chastised for stepping out of the boundaries of 'good womanhood' (Connell, 1987). Women that step out of the traditional heterosexual perceptions of womanhood are punished accordingly as this threatens the dominant discourse of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal society (Gontek, 2009; Morrell, 2003; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002).

However, the concept of 'hegemonic femininity' and 'subordinate femininity' is not as simple as each woman has access to differing identities. Hooks (1989) argues that it is important to recognise the "interlocking systems of domination- sex, race and class" (p. 21) to understand the complex female experience and the nature of its relationship with power and domination. These systems of domination will determine the extent to which a woman is dominated and oppressed within her culture. As Hassim (2005, p. 176) states "women do not mobilize as women simply because they are women". Instead women frame their actions in terms of their

different identities or different categories of social relations (De La Rey, 1999; Hassim, 2005), which are informed by these systems of domination (sex, race, class, culture, ethnicity etc.). Exploring the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination embedded in the categories of sex, race, class, culture and ethnicity from a gendered perspective is the cornerstone of intersectionality theory, which is also relevant to this discussion surrounding gender (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Furthermore, any discussion about feminism or gendered identity in the South Africa context that ignores the centrality of race is limited as it ignores the extent to which our racial, political history has informed the female experience (De La Rey, 1999). In light of the complex nature of the female experience and the interlocking systems of domination embedded in each woman's feminine identity there is a need for more theory surrounding femininity, specifically a theoretical framework for multiple femininities that can account for cultural, racial and socio-economic hierarchies (Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Schippers, 2007). In spite of the theoretical gaps Schippers (2007) defines hegemonic femininity as "the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p. 94). This study addresses this construct of 'hegemonic femininity' or a dominant discourse of femininity and juxtapositions it against 'subordinate femininity' to highlight how women's subjectivities are influenced by living in a culture of violence against women.

Women's movements and forms of feminism have traditionally emphasized eradicating patriarchy and addressing the dominant discourse of hegemonic masculinity as its common goals (Hassim, 2005). However, apartheid's history of racial oppression and violence has lent a specific racial gaze to the feminist movement in South Africa. The experiences and struggles of

women of colour are usually viewed in terms of the struggle against apartheid and not in terms of the overarching patriarchy in society (Penzhorn, 2005). Hassim (1991) argues that during Apartheid there was little space and energy for an autonomous women's movement in South Africa as the agenda was comprised of primarily campaigning against apartheid and striving for political liberation. Steyn (1998) argues that exploring the intersecting identities of women of all racial groups and socio-economic classes is crucial for the psychological liberation of all women in South Africa. It is also important to avoid constructing a simplistic model of patriarchy which ignores race, class, sexual identity, nationality and other systems of oppression, because then we fail to understand the complex experience of the oppression of women (Wilton, 1997).

Hall (1996) argues that identity is about living in and through difference. It is an issue that should be engaged with and not feared or erased. As Ndlovu (2012) argues "Gender is not the problem but sexism and misogyny is" (p. 18). As researchers in the area of violence against women we need to critically confront the issue of gender to be able to engage with the problem of violence against women. By examining the gendered dimension of violence we are able to see how power inequalities and gender socialization are grounded in the epidemic of violence against women in South Africa. Focusing on the social construction of gender also illuminates many discourses that serve to legitimize gender-based violence. Butler (1990) argues that "the deconstruction of identity is not the deconstruction of politics; rather, it establishes as political the very terms through which identity is articulated." (p. 148). Deconstructing the identity of women and how this identity is seated in the context of heterosexual relations in society, will reveal the hidden power relations present in society and how they enable the subjugation and oppression of women.

3.3. Acknowledging Trauma

Various theorists and researchers offer their perspectives on trauma. Young (1996) argues that trauma refers to "the varieties of cruel and painful experiences that corrupt or destroy one's sense of self" (p. 89). Caruth (1995, 1996) argues that trauma is the 'unclaimed experience', "experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and . . . therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor" (1996, p. 4). Herman (1992) writes that:

> Traumatic events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely, but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life. Unlike commonplace misfortunes, traumatic events generally involve threats to life or bodily integrity, or a close personal encounter with violence and death (p. 33).

However, these descriptions of trauma cannot do justice to the emotion laden experience of trauma and this study attempts to unpack how trauma contributes to our lives and the stories we create for ourselves. Therefore it is important to examine different perspectives and theories on trauma. Trauma is also traditionally conceptualised in the biomedical model of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Frankish, 2009) and is discussed in the section below.

3.3.1. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Trauma can also be understood in terms of the mental health condition, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which was recently revised for the Diagnostics and Statistical Manual of Mental disorders (DSM) 5. PTSD can be defined as an anxiety disorder that occurs after an individual is exposed to actual or threatened death, serious injury or sexual violation, which is characterized by the following primary symptoms: recurrent and intrusive recollections of the event; avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma and persistent symptoms of increased arousal (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013a, 2013b). This includes direct experiences of trauma; witnessing the traumatic event in person; learning that the traumatic event happened to a friend or family member; or experiencing repeated or prolonged exposure to the aversive details of the traumatic event (APA, 2013a, 2013b). Symptoms/diagnostic criteria of PTSD are as follows: re-experiencing (spontaneous memories of the traumatic event, recurrent dreams related to it, flashbacks or other intense or prolonged psychological distress); avoidance (distressing memories, thoughts, feelings or external reminders of the event); negative cognitions and mood (myriad feelings, from a persistent and distorted sense of blame of self or others, to estrangement from others or markedly diminished interest in activities, to an inability to remember key aspects of the event); and arousal (aggressive, reckless or self-destructive behaviour, sleep disturbances, hyper vigilance or related problems) (APA, 2013a, 2013b). The degrees of PTSD range from acute PTSD (one to three months); chronic PTSD (3 months and longer); delayed PTSD (only develop PTSD only six months or more after the trauma) (APA, 2013a, 2013b; Kaminer & Eagle, 2010).

3.3.2. Insidious Trauma

Expanding on these definitions of trauma and the biomedical model of PTSD, the concept of 'insidious trauma' is also relevant to this research as it refers to the traumatic implications of living in a violent society. Brown (1995, p.105) argues that the "absence of safety in the daily lives of women" becomes a source of trauma, more specifically 'insidious trauma'. Root (1989, 1992) argues that an individual does not have to be a direct victim of an act of violence to experience the psychological and emotional repercussions of trauma. The members of non-dominant groups in society (women; women and men of colour; bisexual, homosexual or lesbians) are exposed to the daily experience of trauma and this accumulation of the daily experience of trauma constitutes 'insidious trauma' (Root, 1992). Root's (1989, 1992) concept of 'insidious trauma' refers to the everyday discrimination, exclusions and restrictions imposed on individuals and moves the definition of trauma away from a singular incidence of violence to a continuous and accumulative effect. Insidious trauma is often difficult to recognise because it does not refer to a direct experience of trauma but an indirect experience, which is embedded in the power imbalances in society. For example, a woman living in a patriarchal and violent society, such as South Africa, would experience insidious trauma. Brown (1995) expands on this concept of 'insidious trauma' and argues that by living in a culture of violence against women, women are exposed to continuous trauma, which changes how they construct their identity. This 'insidious trauma' leads to heightened anxiety in the lives of women as women restrict their lives and limit their movements in society as a precaution to avoid violence (Stanko, 2001).

3.3.3. Intergenerational Trauma

Another concept of trauma, 'intergenerational trauma' is relevant to the context of this research, because it refers to the intergenerational impact of trauma in the family. Danieli (1998a) argues that intergenerational trauma occurs when a family member has been exposed to trauma and as a result exposes 'residues' of that trauma to other family members, even if those members were not directly impacted by the trauma themselves or did not witness the trauma. Trauma can be passed down from generation to generation, much like a family legacy (Danieli, 1998a). Research on intergenerational trauma gained significance after World War Two and was constructed to account for the trauma of second and third generation-survivors of the holocaust (Hoffman, 2004; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Scharf, 2007; Yehuda, Halligan, & Grossman, 2001). These studies found that trauma was transmitted intergenerationally and caused high levels of psychological distress, anxiety, depressive symptoms and low psychosocial functioning amongst the second and third-generation survivors of the holocaust (Hoffman, 2004; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Scharf, 2007; Yehuda et al., 2001). This emphasises the significant impact that intergenerational trauma has on the identity construction of second and third-generation trauma survivors.

Exploring these different conceptualisations of trauma, namely, PTSD, insidious trauma and intergenerational trauma, offers us a way of thinking about the traumatic implications of living in a culture of violence against women (Frankish, 2009). This allows us to explore the relationship between trauma and identity, which is further elucidated through the use of psychosocial theory.

3.4. Constructing the Psychosocial Subject

3.4.1. What is the Psychosocial Subject?

The theory of the psychosocial subject has informed the biographical-interpretative methodological approach adopted in this study and helps us explore the interrelationship between identity, trauma and the culture of violence against women in South Africa. Frosh (2003) theorizes the psychosocial subject through his discussion of psychosocial studies and psychology. He argues that the 'individual' and 'society' are intimately connected, referring to the psychosocial as a seamless entity (Frosh, 2003). Gadd and Jefferson's (2007a) notion of the psychosocial subject is rooted in the study of criminology, more specifically an emerging area, psychosocial criminology, which utilises this theory to deconstruct the life stories and motivations of criminal offenders. They argue that an individual is the product of "their own unique psychic worlds *and* a shared social world" and that it is important to explore the inner and outer-worlds of individuals (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a, p.4). Hollway (2004) aptly describes the psychosocial subject when she writes: "The hyphen in psychosocial is important: it means that wherever you encounter the social, you encounter the psychodynamic and vice versa" (p. 7). The debate surrounding the emergence of psychosocial studies, which combines the disciplines of sociology[6] and psychoanalysis, has been controversial (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008). In the past sociologists have been criticised for their over social and under-psychological view of the individual, whilst sociologists are also suspicious of the individualising tendencies of psychoanalysis (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008). However psychosocial research attempts to readdress these criticisms by addressing both the psychological and social worlds of the individual (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005a, 2005b).

Clarke (2006) describes psychosocial research as the best of both worlds because it addresses the complex relationship between the socio-structural and psychological factors, highlighting how social structures impact on the psychological just as much as the psychological influences social structures in society. Psychosocial research places importance on the social world, but also acknowledges the power of agency, language and its ability to exert control over our reality and life stories. Frosh (2003) argues that the individual is socially constructed, however this does not negate their agency because they still possess tools such as language, which both constrains what can be said and allows the space for individuals to exert control over it. This space allows for the introduction of subjectivity and imagination. The individual is seen as more than just a dupe of ideology or discourse (Frosh, 2003). This argument illustrates the powerful interaction between the social world and the inner world, and how they are intertwined, forming a seamless entity.

3.4.2. Exploring the Social World of the Psychosocial Subject

3.4.2.1. The Social Constructionist Lens. In order to explore the social world of the psychosocial subject it is important to explore social constructionist theory and how discourses construct our understanding and experience of the world. The exploration of the social world of the individual involves looking at questions of power, structure and discourse through a social constructionist lens (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). Social constructionism adopts a critical stance towards our conventional understanding of the world and argues that our understanding of the world is both culturally and historically relative (Burr, 1995). Knowledge is constructed through social processes and is meditated culturally, historically and linguistically (Burr, 1995; Willig, 2013). It is through people's daily interactions with others and the space they occupy that they

construct their own understandings of the world. Social constructionism invites us to examine the world through a critical lens, challenging our conventional understanding of the world through a closer examination of everyday concepts that are not questioned, such as gender (Burr, 1995). Gender may appear to be a concrete concept, however many ideas surrounding what roles and behaviours define a man or woman have changed over history and time and are dependent on social and cultural context. Social constructionist theory argues that our ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative and not 'natural' or 'fixed' (Burr, 1995). Social constructionism is anti-essentialist in nature and asserts that there is no given, determined nature to the world or people (Burr, 1995).

The social constructionist approach emphasizes the importance of language and argues that it is through language that we construct our understandings of the world and are constructed by these understandings (Burr, 1995; Willig, 2013). Language provides our framework of meaning and the same event can be described in different ways, creating different versions of reality (Willig, 2013). For example, a glass of water can be described as either half-full or half-empty (Willig, 2013). Both perceptions of the glass of water are correct and this example demonstrates the multiple truths embedded in social constructionism. Social constructionism is anti-realist and asserts that we construct our own versions of reality (Burr, 1995). It is important to note that people do not intentionally *use* language to construct their understandings of the world this process occurs unintentionally whenever someone speaks. Language becomes the place where "identities are built, maintained and challenged" (Burr, 1995, p. 43). It is through our systems of language that discourses exist and operate.[7]

3.4.2.2. Discourse, Power and Identity. A discourse can be defined as a "system of statements that construct an object" (Parker, 1992, p. 6), or a set of meanings, imagery and metaphors that work together to produce a particular version of reality (Burr, 1995). Foucault (1978, 1979) argued that discourse is the production of knowledge through language as it constructs the topic. Parker (2004a) argues that we use the term discourse, because the concept of language is wider than the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. Furthermore, these patterns of language have implications for our identity, our value system, our behaviour and our social worlds (Parker, 2004a). A discourse presents a particular picture of the world and exists in relation to other discourses, producing and reinforcing power relations. Discourses are also historically and culturally relative, which is why it is important to explore how discourses have emerged and changed over time (Parker, 1992). Discourses are also disseminated, for example in jokes, literature and social institutions and practices.

Hollway's (1984, 1989) analysis of how men and women talk about heterosexual relationships revealed the have/hold discourse and the male sex drive discourse. These discourses serve as examples of how social discourses construct our everyday understanding and experience of the world. Hollway's (1984, 1989) have/hold discourse constructs the women as its subject and places the Christian ideals of monogamy, partnership and family life as its primary focus. Women are constructed as having sex in exchange for commitment and sex outside the confines of a committed relationship is considered unacceptable (Hollway, 1984, 1989). However, it is constructed as acceptable for men to have sex outside of committed relationships. Male sexual desire is as a result prioritized over female sexual desire and is constructed as natural (Hollway, 1984, 1989). The have/hold discourse constructs how we

understand and experience heterosexual relationships, as well as constructing ideas around gender. For example, a woman who has sex outside of a committed relationship to satisfy her female sexual desire is chastised and punished by society and considered a ‘slut’. This refers to the Madonna/whore or wife/mistress split that exists in heterosexual discourse. This discourse is dangerous as it entrenches gender-inequalities and controls the behaviour of women in society.

Gavey (2005) argues that constructions of aggressive male sexuality and passive female sexuality are normalized in society and provide a social pattern for coercive sexuality. The male sex drive discourse constructs men as possessing a powerful biological sex drive, which cannot be ignored and must be satisfied (Hollway, 1984, 1989). Men are considered to ‘need’ sex and are therefore considered not entirely to blame for their subsequent actions to satisfy this ‘need’ (Burr, 1995; Hollway, 1984, 1989). A rape victim, who was provocatively dressed at the time of the attack, may be considered within this discourse to have ‘triggered’ her attack and blame is shifted to the victim for exciting the powerful and uncontrollable male sex drive (Burr, 1995; Holloway, 1984b, 1989). Within this discourse a provocatively dressed women is blamed for ‘provoking’ her rape as women are constructed as the object of the male sex drive. This discourse operates to legitimize the views of the dominant group in society as it reinforces victim-blaming and rape myths. It is in this way that discourses disguise the power dynamics present in society. The male sex drive discourse is demonstrative of a social discourse, which places women as responsible for sexual violence and as a result removes blame from the male perpetrator, reinforcing patriarchal heterosexual masculinity and victim blaming. This discourse also serves to silence women and the violence perpetrated against them. The male sex drive discourse is commonly accepted in society as women are often chastised for dressing

'promiscuously' and advised to dress conservatively to avoid rape. This is an example of a discourse, which is disseminated through everyday conversations, safety campaigns, literature and public policy. The male sex drive discourse and the have/hold discourse are also tied to social structures and practices, and mask the underlying gender-inequalities in patriarchal society.

It is important to examine the power relations produced through the dissemination of a discourse by "looking at the kind of people who would gain or lose from the employment of this discourse" (Parker, 1992, p.18). Foucault (1978) argues that the subject is constituted by discursive formations and power/knowledge relations. Foucault (1978) further argues that "power is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms" (p. 86). Discourses are reinforced through ideology, social institutions and the structure of society. A discourse that is deeply embedded is difficult to identify because its success is dependent on its ability to appear as a natural and socially acceptable system of understanding. However, "once an object has been elaborated in a discourse it is difficult *not* to refer to it as if it were real" (Parker, 1992, p.5). For example, labelling a woman a 'slut' because she has sex outside of a committed relationship is constructed as a natural response within the have/hold discourse, but is deeply embedded in wider gender-inequalities in patriarchal society. In this example it is men who gain power and women who lose it. This theorization allows us to understand the hidden mechanisms of discourses. Discourses are implicated in the power structures of institutions and the fabric of society, highlighting the importance of discourse analysis within the theoretical framework of the psychosocial subject.

Discourse analysis presents the argument of discursive formations and power/knowledge relations, however it does not comprehensively explain why particular individuals take up or identify with certain discourses or subject positions. Hollway (1984) argues that one does not just invest in a discourse by accident and that this is an unconscious process, in which individuals take up certain discourses or subject positions to defend against anxiety and retain power. There are particular unconscious motivations and attractions attached to investing in certain discourses. As Hollway (2004) argues our lives are desirously, defensively and discursively appropriated. For example, perpetrators may invest in the male sex drive discourse because men are not constructed as responsible for their actions as their violence is constructed as a 'natural masculine response' to their uncontrollable and powerful sex drive (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). The theory of the psychosocial subject allows us to delve further into these questions of the individual and society. Frosh (2003) argues that the theory of the psychosocial subject introduces the "appreciation of the ambiguities and ambivalence of power as it operates on, through and in the subject, and as it is operated on *by* the subject" (p. 1553). This presents the image of the individual as a product of *both* discourse (the social) and agency (the individual).

3.4.3. Exploring the Inner World of the Psychosocial Subject

Individuals are also personally invested in the discourses they take up and may invest in certain discourses to protect vulnerable aspects of themselves (Hollway, 2001; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Individuals are not just 'accidently' positioned in particular discourses but derive "some satisfaction or pay-off or reward" from their positioning (Hollway, 1984, p. 238). This 'satisfaction' is seated in our unconscious desire to defend against anxiety and

powerlessness (Hollway, 1984, 2001). Discursive investments are intimately linked to an individual's biographical history and unconscious defensive activity. This entails "exploring how unconscious defences designed to protect oneself from feeling anxious, vulnerable and out of control are implicated in such discursive 'choices'" (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a, p. 84). The theory of the psychosocial subject highlights the importance of the inner psychic world and contemporary psychoanalysis, which includes both unconscious as well as conscious processes (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). Anxiety, defensiveness and internal contradictions are also issues of concern. Personal investments in discourses are also linked to avoiding feelings of powerlessness, namely suppressing subject positions that threaten to deprive the subject of power and defensively projecting these suppressed feelings onto the other (Hollway, 1989, 2001). Hollway (2011) argues that discourse analysis and psychoanalysis are complementary in discursive psychology and not in opposition to each other as previously argued. The psychosocial subject is constantly and unconsciously defending themselves against anxiety, which will affect not only the discourses they position themselves in but also how they recall events and construct meaning (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). This will influence the way individuals tell their life stories and provide biographical accounts. The theory of the psychosocial subject focuses on the parallel of the spoken and unconscious narrative, and how they are seamlessly combined to defend against anxiety and powerlessness (Morgan, 2007). The concept of the psychosocial subject and how it interacts with psychoanalysis is illustrated below in a quote from Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) book *'Doing Qualitative Research Differently'*.

> The concept of an anxious, defended subject is simultaneously psychic and social. It is psychic because it is a product of a unique biography of anxiety-provoking life

> events and the manner in which they have been unconsciously defended against. It is social in three ways: first because such defensive activities affect and are affected by discourses (systems of meaning which are a product of the social world); second because the unconscious defences that we describe are intersubjective processes (that is they affect and are affected by others); and third because of the real events in the external, social world which are discursively and defensively appropriated (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 24).

Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) fear of crime study adopts the psychosocial subject as its theoretical framework and explores how members of a community in the UK fear and anxiety are produced by their biographical accounts and their unconscious need to defend against anxiety. Their research serves as an example of how the individual is both a product of the psychological and the social because their unique biographies and unconscious defensive activity affects and is affected by the social discourses they invest in (Hollway, 2004). A series of free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 37 men and women and interpretive analysis drawing on social discourses, narrative theory and psychoanalysis was used to analyse the interview texts (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Findings revealed a psychosocial account of each participant. For example, Roger is a 58-year-old man, who is in poor health and was disabled because of a work-place accident at 21 (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). He is married and has four married children and 11 grandchildren. He constructs his fear of crime in terms of the failure of the police force and criminal justice system; the lack of respect amongst the youth; and an increase in crime in the community (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Roger's discursive investments and narrative accounts are deeply invested in an idealised past and patriarchal

authority, which is rooted in his father's abusive behaviour and life before his disability (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

3.4.3.1 Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytical Concepts. Hollway (2009) argues that psychoanalytical theory enriches the 'psychosocial' both epistemologically and ontologically. Epistemologically it positions researcher subjectivity as a position of knowing and ontologically it informs our understanding of participant subjectivity. Psychoanalysis argues that action is produced out of unconscious conflict (Hollway, 2001). The unconscious refers to ideas that have been repressed and kept from consciousness by continuing pressure (Frosh, 1999). Repressed ideas lie outside consciousness and motivate our behaviour, however these motivations are perceived as unacceptable and dangerous by our consciousness and as a result are hidden (Frosh, 1999). Psychoanalysis posits anxiety[8] as inherent of the human condition and argues that threats to the self create anxiety (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009). Individuals are constantly unconsciously defending against powerlessness and anxiety precipitates these unconscious defences (Hollway, 2001). These unconscious processes, which defend against anxiety, have a significant influence on the individual's lives, actions and relationships (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009). Painful memories and events may be 'forgotten' or recalled differently to defend against the anxiety that they represent. These unconscious defences affect what is said (how this is said) and what is not said in the interview process. Exploring these defences is essential in discovering the individual 'truths' of participants.

Psychoanalytic concepts such as free association, resistance, projection, introjections, splitting and fantasies are utilized in the theory of the psychosocial subject. Free association, a

method that Freud used to uncover unconscious defensive activity by letting the individual say whatever comes to mind, is useful for delving into the inner world of the psychosocial subject (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). By asking the individual to say whatever comes to mind, the associations follow pathways defined by emotional motivations and the narrative is developed out of an individual's unconscious logic, rather than their conscious logic (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009). This enables a deeper understanding of the individual, by revealing the links that people make if they are free to structure their own narrative.

Klein (1988a, 1988b) argues that most defences against anxiety are intersubjective and they come into play in relations between people. These defences work together towards the common goal of the preservation of the self. Concepts such as resistance, projection, introjections, splitting and fantasies represent these defence mechanisms, which serve to help the individual unconsciously defend against anxiety and powerlessness. Resistance is present in our lives "in order to prevent the conscious mind from becoming painfully aware of some unpleasant mental conflict" (Badcock, 1988, p. 107). Freud asserted that repression was one of the defences used to protect the psyche against unpalatable or 'unacceptable' material (Frosh, 1999). An individual may typically resist confronting repressed material such as traumatic emotions or experiences. Often individuals interject painful stories with humour to unconsciously (or even consciously) disguise their resistance to the difficult repressed material (Morgan, 2007). Laughter represents a defence mechanism in this example.

Concepts such as 'projection' (putting out), 'introjections' (taking in), which together result in 'splitting' (the separation of good and bad), are also used (Klein, 1988a, 1988b, 2013;

Hollway & Jefferson, 2009). Projection or projective identification refers to when aspects of the self or an internal object, such as emotion, are split off and attributed to an external object (Klein, 2013). Splitting refers to the separation of good and bad, in which the splitting of objects into either good or bad, permits us to believe in 'good' objects and the 'bad' aspects can be split off and located elsewhere (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009; Klein, 1988a, 1988b, 2013). This allows individuals to preserve their ideas about the world and their relationships, enabling them to separate issues into either 'black' or 'white', without enduring the ambivalence and anxiety engaged when acknowledging the presence of 'gray' areas in their life.

The psychoanalytical concept of 'fantasies' in particular our everyday imagining, provide a link between our social worlds and our unique psychic worlds (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). Fantasies do not just occupy our internal space but have repercussions in our external world as they play an instrumental role in our relationships. For example, individuals often imagine arguments or quarrels with someone that has upset them and even though this conflict has only occurred in their psychic world it will influence how they interact with this person in the external world (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). Even when these feelings and quarrels are not verbalized, these everyday imaginings and ruminations have an impact on how you relate to others and your own identity. In this sense the psychosocial subject is always social and biographical. As the researcher, I explored these psychoanalytical concepts in my own interpretive analysis, focusing on how young women defend against anxiety and retain power.

3.4.4. Constructing Our Narratives

As human beings we create stories to make sense of our lives and to structure our experiences. Attwood (1996) encapsulates the purpose of constructing narratives amidst the chaos of our everyday lives in this excerpt:

> When you are in the middle of a story it isn't a story at all, but only a confusion; a dark roaring, a blindness, a wreckage of shattered glass and splintered wood; like a house in a whirlwind, or else a boat crushed by the icebergs or swept over the rapids, and all aboard powerless to stop it. It's only afterwards that it becomes a story at all. When you are telling it to yourself or someone else.
> (p. 298)

When you are in the middle of life you often do not have the space or time to create your own 'coherent' stories. However, through the process of telling our stories to others our identity is constructed. Riessman (2008) states "narrative has a robust life beyond the individual" (p.7). Polkinghorne (1995) argues that "narrative descriptions exhibit human activity as purposeful engagement in the world. Narrative is the type of discourse that draws together diverse events, happening and actions of human lives" (p. 5). Telling one's stories helps structure these chaotic and diverse events, happenings and actions of human life into a 'coherent' narrative. Constructing narratives help individuals map their identity and asking participants to tell their stories helps us as researchers gain critical insight into how they construct their experiences. Identity is not a fixed concept but a fragmented, dynamic and nuanced notion seated in a political and social context, which is continuously being constructed (Ndlovu, 2012). Individuals use

narratives to ‘tidy up’ their identity and create multiple coherent narratives, which they draw upon depending on the time and context. Each narrative we construct has underlying motivations, which serve to present particular versions of ourselves. Individuals perform their preferred identity for a specific audience and stories are tailored to further our own ends (Bruner, 2002; Riessman, 2002a).

The way that individuals construct narratives to position their identity in different ways can be seen in Riessman’s (2002b) research on infertility narratives, which was conducted amongst women in South India. Women positioned their gender identity in relation to their infertility in different ways. One woman, Asha, a 42-year-old woman positioned her infertility as a result of her age and not as an internal flaw (Riessman, 2002b). This construction helps Asha defend against any self-blame or shame she may experience. Constructing a positive gender-identity without children is problematic in South India, a culture that values mothering and maternal responsibility (Riessman, 2002b). During her narrative Asha does not use the plural pronoun to describe the infertility process, despite being married, which is unusual (Riessman, 2002b). Her narrative is singular and she constructs herself as a strong independent woman. This subject positioning of a strong, independent woman is understandable in this problematic context, in which motherhood is considered a milestone in the life of an adult woman (Riessman, 2002b). Another woman, Gita, a 55-year-old Hindu woman, who had two miscarriages, spoke about her career as a lawyer and a political activist throughout the interviews, despite the researcher trying to re-position her in the infertility narrative (Riessman, 2002b). This strong emphasis on a professional and political life highlights how married women who cannot have children must construct their gender identity around principles other than mothering. The women

in Riessman's (2002b) research constructed their narratives and positioned themselves in particular ways to present positive gender identities to the audience of the narrative, the researcher.

Byrne's (2003) narrative research highlights the complexities of studying self-narratives. Byrne (2003) conducted qualitative interviews with White women of young children living in South London in the UK and explored the production of narratives of the self. Byrne (2003) asked these women to discuss their turning points in their life, which allowed the development of self-narratives and deep reflection. Telling a self-narrative involves placing yourself as the protagonist of the story and claiming agency, however two of the women's self-narratives involved the shifting of protagonists and they spoke considerably about their relationships with others (Byrne, 2003). This can be attributed to the 'female' form of narrative in which women are socialised to construct their identity in terms of their relationships to others and struggle to claim agency and self-mastery in their narrative accounts (Bertraux-Wiame, 1982). Gender, race and class also featured in these narratives and represented major determinants in the development of their self-narrative. One of the women in the study, Deborah, did not have a story of developing the self because she perceived her life as so normative that to her there was no story to tell (Byrne, 2003). Her self-narrative takes on the form of a job resume and speaks of school, university and work, entertaining no contradictions or disruptions in her life progression (Byrne, 2003). Both Riessman's (2002b) and Bryne's (2003) narrative research highlight how women use narrative accounts to construct their identity and present particular versions of themselves to their audience.

The popularity of narratives is seated in our turn to explain identity in terms of language and its universal ability to cut across culture, time and place (Frosh, 2001; Squire, 2005). Squire (2005) argues that narrative promises to place the 'individual'/ the 'personal' at the epicentre, making this theory a popular choice for research, such as this, which aims to study identity. However, Roberts (2002) also points out that narrative seamlessly binds together 'self' and 'society' because our interpretations of experiences, which form our narratives, are grounded in specific socio-cultural contexts. Our interpretation of our life events takes place against the backdrop of a specific socio-cultural context and is fore grounded in political and gendered history (Roberts, 2002). Our narratives cannot escape the social discourses and power relations that permeate them (Ndlovu, 2012; Roberts, 2002). In line with Riessman (2002a) and Ndlovu (2012), I posit that identities are multiple, fluid, performative and fragmented, emphasizing how individuals draw on multiple narratives to fit a series of preferred identities. However, these narratives are not free from the social and political context upon which they are drawn.

3.4.5. Applying the Theory of the 'Psychosocial Subject'

The theoretical framework of the psychosocial subject and the use of a biographical-interpretive methodology, namely free association narrative interviews and interpretive data analysis, has been applied to various research studies such as Gadd's (2002, 2003, 2009, 2011) and Gadd and Jefferson's (2007b) work on criminal perpetrators. Gadd (2002, 2003, 2009, 2011) explores the case studies of violent male perpetrators and his theoretical use of the psychosocial subject in his research and focus on discursive rationalizations and psychic processes, deepens our understanding of what motivates perpetrators to commit violent crimes. Constructing the perpetrator as a defended subject and exploring their unconscious defences against anxiety

allows the case's wider theoretical significance to be realized, providing a unique contribution to criminological theory (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007b). Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) study on fear of crime is another example of psychosocial research, which adopts a biographical-interpretive research design and this study mirrors many of the elements of this doctoral research.

Applying the theory of the psychosocial subject to this present study allows for a social and political awareness of the prevailing discourses present in our society and an interpretative approach, which exposes the inconsistencies in how people behave and act (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a). It is in this way that we are able to analyze the "unconscious attractions of discourse" (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007a, p. 184). It allows us to analyze the social worlds of the individual through discourse analysis and a social constructionist lens, however it also allows us to investigate why individuals invest in particular discourses and how this 'investment' relates to their biographical accounts. This theoretical framework of the psychosocial subject goes beyond discourse analysis and psychoanalytically-informed interpretive methodology, as it allows the researcher to delve into *both* the social and inner world of participants. This holistic approach is ideal for this research study as it allows us to explore the broader social context of South Africa and how this social and political context affects violence against women and the discursive choices of the women in this study. It allows us to explore the relevant discourses relating to fear, gender and violence against women and how women construct their identity in the context of violence and fear. Adopting the psychosocial subject as a theoretical framework also allows us to develop a complex understanding of identity because this theory recognises that "identities are created in discourse not as simple representations of underlying psychic states but, rather, as performances drawing on cultural meanings and accounting procedures linked to social

positioning, yet fuelled by emotional needs, many of which might be unconscious" (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2000, p. 228-229). The theory of the psychosocial subject acknowledges the mediation of the social and psychodynamic, providing us with a holistic framework for studying how women construct identity in a culture of violence against women (Hollway, 2004).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological concerns of this qualitative, biographical-interpretive study. The following sections are outlined in this chapter: an overview of the research questions and design; rationale for qualitative research design and a biographical-interpretive method; participants; data collection; transcription; data analysis; issues of researcher-reflexivity; the effects of the interview process; ethical considerations and quality criteria. This chapter reveals both a detailed description of the methodological undertakings of this research, as well as an in-depth discussion of the researcher's own emotional journey during the research process.

4.2. Overview of Research Questions and Design

This study uses as its backdrop the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa and operates from the feminist perspective that violence against women is a structural feature of patriarchy and it affects all women because all women are affected by the constant fear and threat of such violence (Brown, 1995; Dosekun, 2007; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly & Radford, 1996; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001). This qualitative, biographical-interpretive study focuses on how young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in this culture of violence against women in South Africa, more specifically the psychosocial impact this has on them. The research questions central to this study are: (a) How are women affected by living in a society where violence against women is prevalent and tolerated? (b) What is the psychological

(psychosocial) impact of a culture of violence on women? The theory of the psychosocial subject framed the study. Free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 27 female UCT students, between the ages of 18 and 32, and an interpretative analysis was used to analyse the interview texts. Through the use of this theory and method this thesis looks at these sub-questions: (1) What narratives do these women construct in this context? (2) What discourses do these women invest in and how do these discourses construct their understanding of the world? (3) What are the unconscious motivations and attractions of these discourses? Exploring each of these questions helps us understand how these women construct their identity and embodied experience in a culture of violence against women in South Africa, highlighting the connection between the unique inner world of the individual (the psycho) and the shared social world.

4.3. Rationale for Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research inductively explores real-world social situations, problems and interactions, whilst simultaneously seeking to achieve a holistic understanding of them (Durrheim, 1999). Qualitative research is interested in the meanings of experiences, as well as the quality and texture of experience (Willig, 2013). Qualitative research does not adhere to one absolute truth, but seeks to explore the multiple and contradictory truths present in experiences. Arminio and Hultgreen (2002) argue that interpretive and critical qualitative research constructs knowledge and acknowledges that each story has multiple truths. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that quantitative methods are inappropriate to research a complex and unquantifiable concept such as fear and identity construction, which are primary concerns outlined in this study. The principles of qualitative research design are design flexibility; an interactive researcher-participant relationship; and a holistic and interpretive perspective, which are all congruent with

the aims and purposes of this research (Durrheim, 1999; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). Qualitative research helps develop a holistic understanding of each research participant and the stories they tell, providing us a space to map the meanings produced through these narratives (Ritchie et al., 2013). Qualitative research also allows us to explore the stories participants construct; their language; the social world and broad social context the participant lives in; the material conditions (economic, political, gender and race) that influence their beliefs and experiences and the multiple truths that each participant creates (Ritchie et al., 2013). Furthermore, a qualitative research design is suitable for this study as it equips the researcher with tools to explore the subjective worlds of young women and understand how their identities have been shifted and shaped in the context of high levels of violence against women. This qualitative study operates from both an interpretive and a feminist epistemology. It views knowledge as created and negotiated in social interactions between individuals, whilst also recognising the importance of the gendered nature of knowledge (Oliver, 2004).

4.4. Rationale for Biographical-Interpretive Methodology

Biographical-interpretive methodology is central to psychosocial research and has been used in Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) research on fear of crime and Gadd's (2007, 2009, 2011) work on criminal perpetrators. The theory of psychosocial subject, outlined in the previous chapter, is central to the biographical-interpretive method, which consists of free-association, narrative interviews and an interpretive analysis comprising of discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis. The biographical-interpretive method provides a framework for researchers to explore the social and psychological worlds of their participants, identifying social discourses, unconscious motives and biographical narratives. It offers a multi-faceted approach

to exploring a social problem as it allows us to identify the social discourses that participants invest in, helping us uncover hidden power relations inherent in society, the unconscious motivations and attractions of investing in these discourses and how this relates to the biographical-narrative accounts of participants. A variety of different methods (discourse analysis, narrative and psychoanalysis) was used to 'triangulate' our inquiry and show the different ways one might understand a culture of violence against women and its impact on women (Parker, 2004b). This helps us explore the intrinsic complexity of this research topic (Parker, 2004b).

Discourse analysis allows us to explore how individuals inadvertently use language to construct their understanding of their world, focusing on the connection between power, language and resistance (Parker, 2004b). Drawing on a narrative approach allows us to explore how identities are constructed and how they can be questioned (Parker, 2004b). Drawing on psychoanalysis allows us to explore the unconscious motivations and desires underlying the investment in particular discourses, expanding our understanding of why certain discourses are 'popular' and others are not (Hollway, 1984, 1989, 2001; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Exploring identity in terms of the psychosocial approach allows for a deeper understanding of the 'psychological' impact of a culture of violence against women, as we can examine identity on both a social and individual level. This methodology provides researchers with a comprehensive and holistic approach to studying social problems such as violence against women and how it is linked with fear and identity. It also offers a more complex, enriched and nuanced view of human identity and utilises various tools to enhance a holistic understanding of the individual (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

4.5. Participants

Free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 27 female UCT students, between the ages of 18 and 32 years. The average age of the women in the sample was 21 years old and most of the women in the sample were in their early twenties. The sample consisted of young women because this is the time period in which women are typically becoming concerned about their safety, their identity and have entered into the realization that their bodies are sites of conflict and struggle. Participants were accessed through the Student Research Participation Programme (SRPP) in the psychology department. Each student in the undergraduate psychology programme must accumulate academic credit by participating in his or her choice of research studies. The programme is an online application that students can anonymously sign up to and many of the women in this study recommended it to their friends. This form of snowball and purposive sampling helped identify participants within a specific pool of female undergraduate psychology students. Purposive sampling aims to sample a group of people with particular characteristics that will provide the researcher with significant data on the research subject (Ulin, Robinson, Tollet, & McNeill, 2002). This study required participants to commit themselves to participating in two interviews over a few weeks and as a result was more time-intensive than the other studies advertised. The SRPP advertisement used for this study is detailed in Appendix A. It discussed the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa and asked young, female UCT students to come in for two interviews to discuss their life stories and experiences as women living in South Africa.

The racial composition of women in the study reflected some of the diversity of South African society in general and is outlined in Figure 2: Graph Two. Participants did not need to have a personal experience of gender-based violence to participate in the study. Focusing on women who do not necessarily have direct experiences of gender-based violence offers an additional view that is often not seen in literature and highlights how all women are affected by the prevalence of violence against women in their community. However, due to the high levels of violence against women in South Africa, most of the women in the study had experienced violence in the past and as a result may have been drawn to this study for that reason. In fact, over the course of the interview process it appeared that many women chose to be part of this study as a means to gain psychosocial support and the interviews served as a way for them to break their own silence. This was an interesting development in the study as it shifted the discussion from everyday experiences of fear and anxiety to discussions surrounding the various forms of violence that each woman had experienced.

It is important to note that the demographics of the proposed sample appear similar in terms of age, social class, sex and location. However, while they appeared to be similar because they were all attending a privileged university (UCT) there were actually important differences. Participants occupied various low income brackets, racial and cultural groups. Women in the study ranged from the low income brackets, for example previously being homeless; growing up in rural and urban townships; to belonging to the middle and upper-class. This range of income groups and socio-economic classes is reflective of the financial assistance, bursary and scholarship programs currently in place at the university and in South Africa. As a result the participants were distributed fairly evenly throughout all income brackets and socio-economic

classes. It is important to acknowledge how "interlocking systems of domination- sex, race and class" inform experience, however the consuming narrative of patriarchy and violence against women appeared to overwhelm these categories (Hooks, 1989, p. 21). Women from both poor and wealthy backgrounds experienced trauma, although each woman's experience differed, the experience of violence against women appeared universal and transcended racial and class barriers. This research shows how pervasive violence against women is in South Africa and how it does not discriminate based on race or socio-economic class. Table 1 and graphs 1 and 2 provide a short overview of the participants interviewed. Each woman was given a pseudonym and identifying information has been removed for confidentiality purposes.

4.6. The Data Collection Process: Free-Association Narrative Interviews

A biographical-interpretive method, focusing on a free-association, narrative interview style, following Hollway and Jefferson (2000) was adopted. A pilot study was conducted before the data collection stage, in which one interview was conducted with a female friend of mine. This helped me test the method of free-association, narrative interviews and become comfortable with the technique. However, this pilot interview was not included in the final analysis process as its purpose was to familiarise me with the interview style. Two interviews were conducted with each participant. In this section the 'first interview' refers to the introductory interview with a participant and the 'second interview' refers to the follow-up interview with the same participant. Participants contacted myself, the researcher via email through the SRPP announcement (see Appendix A) and a date, time and venue for each interview was arranged. This process was completely confidential. Informed consent was obtained before the interviews were conducted (See Appendix B) and participation was emphasised as voluntary. A participant

demographic information sheet was completed by each participant (See Appendix C). These sheets detailed the demographic information of each participant, consisting of basic information; education and employment status; socio-economic status and relationship status.

I began the first interview by introducing myself, speaking a bit about myself and asking the participant if they would like to know anything about me (Renzetti, 1997). It is also important to note that 'participants' are people as well, not just mines of untapped data and should be treated with dignity and respect in the research process (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Without these women's stories, their trust and willingness to share their lives, this research would not have been possible. This research is described primarily in terms of its qualitative, biographical-interpretative framework. However, it is ultimately about the voices and experiences of women which make it explicitly feminist in nature. This research aimed to respect, understand and empower the women in the study (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). During the interview process I endeavoured to reduce the hierarchical relationships inherent in most social science research, trying to establish rapport and trust and hopefully creating a caring environment for my participants (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). It is also important as researchers that we acknowledge the power of participants to construct our research and the impact they have, not only on the research process but also on us as the researchers. The power dynamics between the researcher and the researcher were addressed throughout this thesis. I practiced constant reflexivity, which is outlined in this chapter and I ensured that the study was aligned with feminist methodological values.

The first interview consisted of an opening statement, discussing the prevalence of violence against women and my interest in the participant's life story. Participants were asked "Can you start off by talking about yourself and your life in Cape Town?". The interview guide is included in Appendix D and was modelled after the interview guide in Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) fear of crime study. Probes reflecting key theoretical themes, such as gender-based violence/victimization; precautionary strategies/rules; fear/anxiety; identity/ womanhood were explored. An open-ended question was utilised and the interview followed a narrative form, focusing on detail and time periods (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Key principles to this method include: eliciting stories; avoiding 'why' questions and constructing follow-up questions using participant's phrasing. This interview style reveals significant personal meanings and unexpected or inconsistent admissions from participants (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). This style focuses on the emergent *gestalt* (the idea that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts) which informs the meaning-frame of a person's narrative (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

After the first interview, the second interview was scheduled for a few weeks later. The second interview consisted of a series of tailor-made follow-up questions based on the first interview. All interviews were each approximately an hour and a half to two hours in length and were audio-taped and transcribed by myself. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that the second interview acts as a check by allowing us to seek further evidence to test our emergent hunches and provisional hypotheses. The tailor-made narrative questions were based on issues of tension, avoidance, contradiction and hesitation from the first interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). I asked for more stories to illustrate themes that had already arisen in the first interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The second interview is important as it deepens the relationship between the

researcher/interviewer and the participant, eliciting richer data. Interviewing each participant twice helped me develop a rapport with each of the women and allowed me to obtain a fuller and richer picture of their narratives.

Each participant was debriefed at the close of the interview and a debriefing pamphlet was given to each participant at the close of the second interview (see Appendix G). The pamphlet outlined the facts and common myths relating to violence against women. It also identified resources available to women who have experienced violence. I offered to refer participants to counselling services; however none of the participants pursued this option. Ten women had been in therapy as a result of traumatic experiences relating to violence against women and five women were in therapy at the time of the interviews. Data collection took place over a 10 month period, in which 27 participants were interviewed twice, totalling 54 interviews. The interviews were spaced out so that I was able to process any information from an interview that may have been harmful for me (Beale, Cole, Hillege, McMaster, & Nagy, 2004; Campbell, 2002a; Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007).

4.7. The Transcription Process

As the researcher, I transcribed all the interview material myself. Transcription is an overlooked process in research and transcribing the interview material yourself, allows the researcher to absorb the stories and voices of the participants in a study (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007; Parker, 2004b). Transcribing the interview material yourself allows the researcher to capture the laughter, the tone of voice of the participants, the reluctance, the mocking or sarcasm that an outsider may gloss over in their attempt to complete the transcription (Parker, 2004b).

Once I completed the transcription process I was familiar with the stories and identities of my participants and I felt I was able to engage completely in the interpretation stage.

4.8. Interpretive Data Analysis

An interpretive data analysis technique, following Hollway and Jefferson (2000), was used. This interpretive analysis was framed by the theory of the psychosocial subject and utilized discourse analysis, psychoanalysis and narrative theory. These different components were combined in a meta-qualitative-interpretive analysis to enable a more holistic and 'psychosocial' understanding of each participant.

4.8.1. Initial Steps

I familiarized myself with the interview transcripts by reading and re-reading the transcripts, entering into a process of 'immersion' with each participant. A case summary or pro-forma was completed for each participant (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The case summary consisted of categories such as standard bio-data; significant extracts; comments on themes and ideas that emerged from the whole reading, and is modelled after the one in Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) fear of crime study. The case summary outline is provided in Appendix E and an example of one of the participant's case summaries is provided in Appendix F. These summaries included the inconsistencies and contradictions of each participant's narrative, as it helps us form a more holistic understanding of each person.

4.8.2. Interpreting the Narrative/Biographical Accounts

Drawing on a narrative approach allows us to explore how identities are constructed and how they can be questioned (Parker, 2004b). Holistic interpretations of each participant's narrative/biographical accounts were performed. In this study narrative is viewed as "the type of discourse that draws together diverse events, happening and actions of human lives" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). An individual's narrative is not usually well structured with a clear beginning, middle and end but is often fragmented and disjointed in nature. Riessman (1993) wrote that "narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the story itself" (p. 1). The way a participant tells their story is also a result of their interaction with the researcher, the way they ask questions, probe, their body language and the different power dynamics at play. Riessman (1993) argues that interviews are contexts in which both the participant and interviewer "develop meaning together" (p.55). This highlights the importance of research-reflexivity in addressing the trustworthiness of this research, which has been emphasized throughout this study. In terms of this particular narrative interpretation, the face values of the narratives were explored to ascertain the overall plot and the story being told (Holland, 2007; Walkerdine, Lucey, & Melody, 2004). Emphasis was placed on the whole narrative, specifically the interconnectedness between the past, present and future and how the practices of retrospection and reflection inform identity.

Narrative inquiry focuses on how the speaker assembles and sequences events, whilst simultaneously using language and visual imagery to make particular points to an audience (Riessman, 2008). Intention and language were interrogated, focusing on the *how* and *why* incidents were storied (Riessman, 2008). Questions such as: Who stands to lose or gain power from the construction of this narrative?; "For whom was this story constructed and for what

purpose?"; "What does the story accomplish?"; "What storehouse of plots does it call up?"; "Are there gaps or inconsistencies that might suggest preferred, alternative, or counter-narratives?"; "What cultural resources does the story draw on or take for granted?" ; and why are the sequence of events in the story structured that way ?, were all asked throughout this process (Riessman, 2008, p. 11). However to examine the *meaning* of these life stories, it is important to examine the social as well as the individual because meaning is defined at both levels (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007). In order to understand a culture of violence against women and its interaction with women's identity, the researcher has to explore the social constructions relating to these concepts (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007). This was achieved through the method of discourse analysis.

4.8.3. Discourse Analysis

A holistic understanding of these narratives included an exploration of the discourses that participants position themselves in relation to their biographical-narrative accounts, as well as the unconscious motivations and attractions underlying these discourses. Burr (1995) argues that discourse analysis explores the way individuals use coherent systems of meaning to create particular versions of reality and how individuals position themselves in relation to these versions of reality. Furthermore, discourse analysis allows us to explore how individuals inadvertently use language to construct their understanding of their world, focusing on the connection between power, language and resistance (Parker, 2004b). This allows us to deconstruct taken-for-granted assumptions surrounding women's constructions of fear and safety, challenging our conventional understandings of what is 'natural' and 'normal'. This research focuses on the identification of discursive constructions and the subject positions contained within them (Willig, 1999).

A critical discourse analysis approach following Parker's (1992, 2004a) and Foucault (1978, 1979, 1982) was used. Transcripts were read and re-read. Discourses were identified in the text. A discourse is defined as a "system of statements that construct an object" (Parker, 1992, p.6). Discourses are also defined by Mama (1995) as "historically constructed regimes of knowledge. This includes: common sense assumptions, taken-for-granted ideas, belief systems, and myths that groups of people share and through which they understand each other" (p. 98). I identified objects in participants' accounts and the talk that surrounded them. This talk serves to produce a particular version of reality and discourses were identified accordingly. I free associated this talk to a variety of meanings, accessing "cultural networks" present in the discourses (Parker, 2004a, p. 152). I identified the subject and role positions present in the discourses and the rights, responsibilities, rhetoric and set of beliefs specific to those subject and role positions (Parker, 1992). The resistance and adherence to these subject and role positions in particular discourses were also explored (Parker, 2004a). Discourses limit what can be said and done, and the intersection between practice and discourse was explored (Willig, 2013). For example, the practice of unprotected sex is embedded in the marital discourse, which constructs condom-use as unsuitable for long-term committed relationships (Willig, 2013). As a result condom-use is usually discontinued once a relationship is considered committed or 'serious'. The way discourses are disseminated was also explored. Emphasis is placed on the historical and cultural contexts in which discourses are embedded. The production and reproduction of power that each discourse reinforced, was also explored. Emphasis was placed on how discourses can reproduce power relations, upholding the status quo in society. The hidden mechanisms of these power relations are instrumental in this style of discourse analysis (Foucault, 1978). The patterns

and networks of relationships between discourses were then explored and mapped (Parker, 1992).

It is important to note that there is no position for the researcher and reader that is free of discourse and the premise that our world is saturated with discourse means that it is impossible to perform discourse analysis from an objective standpoint (Parker, 2004a). As Parker (2004a, p. 168) argues there is no "interpretive paraphernalia" inside our heads that we can access to deconstruct and decode our realities. This highlights how vital it is that as the researcher I constantly question myself and am mindful of the discourses present in my own reality. However, performing discourse analysis is also not sufficient. This discourse analysis, although exposing the hidden power dynamics embedded in discourses, does not tell us why certain people identify and invest in particular discourses. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that exploring discourses are important to identify how participants defend themselves against anxiety and retain feelings of power. It is essential to explore the unconscious motivations and investments of social discourses as individuals do not just haphazardly invest in particular discourses but are motivated by their life history, the unconscious and the desire to avoid powerlessness and anxiety. We must problematise the narratives and the discourses present in each participant's narrative account through "exploring the unconscious projections, introjections, and transferences at play, paying attention to words, images and metaphors, inconsistencies and contradictions, omissions and silences" (Holland, 2007, p. 201).

4.8.4. The Psychosocial Subject: The Unconscious Motivations and Investments of Discourses

Gadd and Jefferson (2007) argue that the psychosocial subject or 'defended' subject is constantly unconsciously defending against anxiety. This unconscious defensive activity affects what life events are remembered and forgotten; how they are told and how an individual constructs their life story. This will affect how a participant relates their story to the interviewer, what they choose to include and exclude in their narrative account (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007). Splitting, projection and the unconscious motivations and attractions of the discourses present in participants' narratives were also explored. The psychoanalytic concept of free associations or 'slips of the tongue' are also explored as this reveals more about the person as a whole than surface interpretations (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007). The use of free associations both in the interview style and in the data analysis, allow us a glimpse behind these communicated meanings and stories (Gadd & Jefferson, 2007, p.61). Gadd and Jefferson (2007, p.63) refer to this as the "*gestalt* of identity", in which the defended and psychosocial subject *gestalt* is rooted in the expressions of anxiety, unconscious defences and identity investments, which is communicated through the free associations made in the interview process. The participants' *gestalt* is found in these contradictions, incoherencies and avoidances present in their life stories.

4.8.5. Applying Interpretive Methodology to this Study

Due to the time and length restrictions imposed on this thesis it is not possible to explore each individual participant's narrative account, the discourses embedded in each account and the unconscious motivations and attractions of these discourses, in detail. These restrictions make an in-depth, interpretive case study analysis of 27 participants unsuitable for the purposes of this

research. Instead I identified meta-narratives and discourses emerging from participants' talk and explored those in relation to other narratives, discourses and participants' unconscious motivations. This allows the reader to see the common narratives and discourses that emerged, whilst also providing a complex discussion on the 'psychosocial' subject within the context of a culture of violence against women in South Africa.

4.9. The Journey of the Researcher

4.9.1. Researching Sensitive Material

Researching emotional subject matter, such as violence against women, can be an arduous and emotionally taxing task. However, despite this, there is sparse literature, which documents how researchers cope with this emotionally harrowing experience. Discussion surrounding the emotional impact of researching sensitive subject matter is often silenced and relegated to hushed conversations between colleagues, students and supervisors (Campbell, 2002a). These issues are often closeted and exist on the periphery of critical social research. Emphasis is placed on the avoidance of harm of participants, however little attention is paid to the emotional well-being of researchers engaged in this challenging work. Engaging in self-awareness, reflexivity and self-care activities are important when researching sensitive material (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2008; Malacrida, 2007; Parker, 2004b). Measures were put in place to protect my own well-being as the researcher and as a result the credibility of the research. I practiced measures such as spacing out interviews; pacing oneself whilst transcribing; peer debriefing; accessing informal support networks of colleagues, friends and family members; and scheduled rest breaks throughout the study as they helped prevent burn-out and emotional distress (Beale et al., 2004; Campbell, 2002a; Dickson-Swift et al.,

2007). Previous research has found that burn-out amongst researchers and field workers involved in research on gender-based violence is a relevant concern as many researchers are unaware of the 'emotion work' involved in researching sensitive material (Ellsberg & Heise, 2002; Jewkes, Watts, Abraham, Penn-Kekana, & García-Moreno, 2000; Sampson, Bloor, & Fincham, 2008) and these issues were monitored carefully.

4.9.2. Researcher-Reflexivity: Removing the Mask

As researchers we cannot be detached from our participants as we must also explore our "subjective involvement" with regards to our research study (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 33). It is important that as the researcher, I explore my own emotions to ensure that the nature of the research process is accurately reflected (Campbell, 2002a; Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2006). Acknowledging "emotion as a research experience" is one of the defining features of feminist research and is central to this study (Stanley & Wise, 1990, p. 23). I am also a psychosocial and defended subject and this needs to be taken into account. Researcher-reflexivity is central to the ethical practice of research as I am not only involved in the co-construction of the interview process but I also actively construct interpretations of the interview material (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Kvale, 1996). It is important that I account for my own story, beliefs, prejudices and emotions during the research process and journaling, an important tool for practicing reflexivity, was utilised (Beale et al., 2004; Lalor, Begley, & Devane, 2006; Stanko, 1997). Furthermore, reflexivity is also an important tool in this data analysis method as it can strengthen a theoretical conviction or identify a misreading (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Power dynamics between the researcher and participants represent a significant area of concern and careful attention was paid to how the social and political locations of my participants and

myself intersected (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Parker, 2004b). It is important that I recognise my own "interlocking systems of domination" (Hooks, 1989, p.21), such as race, class and sex, and their role in my research. As a 27-year-old, White, female, English-speaking South African from a middle-class background, originally from Durban, studying her PhD at UCT, I have to acknowledge that these factors may have influenced my research. However, my identity as a young, female researcher and fellow UCT student appeared to facilitate intimate disclosure and rapport with participants. I did not anticipate a language barrier, nor did I experience it as a problem, as all participants were fluent in English.

It is also important to explore issues of counter-transference between myself and the women in my study. Hollway and Jefferson (1997) state that transference refers "to the unconscious transferring of other emotionally significant relationships onto the therapist (interviewer) by the patient (participant) and the therapist's (interviewer's) responses to these transferences, as well as their own reverse (counter) transferences" (p. 53). As a woman listening to these stories of violence and fear I was struck by a strong sense of anger at the violence perpetrated against these women and the men responsible. Anger, grief and anxiety are common themes in counter-transference in traumatic research (Danieli, 1984), and common responses to working with survivors of trauma (Straker & Moosa, 1994). I also experienced a tremendous amount of grief during the year I conducted data collection and I found myself becoming increasingly tired after conducting my interviews. I began to worry that I might be possibly transferring these feelings of anger, grief and fatigue onto my participants. These issues of counter-transference may appear to be problematic, however counter-transference is not an obstacle to overcome or a problem that must be eliminated (Gabbard, 2001). Issues of counter-

transference in the interview process must be openly discussed and reflected on as this will increase the awareness surrounding the co-construction of knowledge between the interviewer and interviewees, which will enrich the quality of the research (Gabbard, 2001; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

As social science researchers, we are expected to be detached from our research and occupy the role of the dispassionate researcher. Emotion and knowing are often positioned in opposition to one another in Western philosophy, however the concept of 'dispassionate research', free from the emotions or values of the researcher seems impossible and highly overrated (Jaggar, 1996). Research that is motivated by positive emotions such as passion, dedication and compassion is infused with life and can lead to transformative, emancipatory social change (Jaggar, 1996; Malacrida, 2007). This research represents a better chance for social change than detached, positivist research, which operates in a vacuum from the researcher's emotions. Henceforth, it is important when researching sensitive subject matter such as violence against women to represent the passion, angst and emotional face of the researcher. As a woman I found it impossible to detach myself from this research as violence against women is an issue that is so intimately connected with my own life. As a researcher I question whether it was 'professional' to reflect so much on my feelings and experiences related to my thesis topic however as Elizabeth Stanko (1997, p.85) states "There is already too much silence". Violence against women is an issue, which is always in the back of my mind. It is something I think about when I walk home from university; when I go on dates; and when I interact with male friends and colleagues. However the potentialities for violence in our heterosexual relationships have become so taken-for-granted and ingrained in us that as women we do not notice it. We take for

granted that heterosexual encounters should contain some element of aggression in them. As women we grow up being taught to be scared. Our mothers and grandmothers advise us that we need to be 'careful' or 'something' might happen to us. It's only later on in life that we realize what we were really being taught to be scared of… rape, sexual assault, abuse and ultimately men. I have to ask myself what this does to us as women. Surely it must change us. How can it not? We are living in a society, which is considered the rape capital of the world, and violence against women is at genocidal proportions, how can this not change us? Those were the questions I carried with me throughout this research.

As I began interviewing and transcribing I found myself becoming angry. Angry that these stories the women told of rape, childhood sexual abuse, poverty, hate crimes, HIV/AIDS, emotional abuse and fear, were our stories as South African women. As a researcher and a woman living in South Africa, there's one thing I'm always confused about: Why aren't more people angry about this? Why aren't more people angry about the rape and violence being perpetrated around us? When I listen to the stories of the women in my study, just 'ordinary' women living in our country I wonder how we can live in a culture that treats women as less than fully human. Surely violence against women is a human rights issue and should be treated as such? Moreover, as researchers where do you put all these feelings, all this anger you encounter in your field work? This 'emotion work' appears to exist on the periphery of research but it should be centre stage because it is what propels social change.

4.10. The Effects of the Interview Process: Participants' Experiences

Many of the women that participated in the study claimed that the interview process had transformative and cathartic effects. There have been a number of studies documenting the therapeutic benefits of qualitative research interviews for participants (Aylott, 2001; Birch & Miller, 2000; Colbourne & Sque, 2005; Dickson-Swift et al., 2006; Ellsberg & Heise, 2002; Gale, 1992; Kvale, 2003; Murray, 2003; Priya, 2010; Richards & Emslie, 2000), however more research needs to be conducted in this area. Parker (2004b) argues that it is dangerous to assume that it was therapeutic for participants to share their stories and instead we should focus on how participants told their stories as a performance. However, it is important to document how telling these stories and engaging in the processes of reflection and retrospection have shifted and reshaped these women's past experiences and perceptions. This can be seen in Elizabeth and Courtney's stories. Elizabeth is a 21-year-old, White woman, who is completing a degree in history and was sexually abused at the age of nine by a family friend. She tells her story of child sexual abuse during the interviews and in the last interview she claims that participating in this study led to her having "one of the most open conversations" she's ever had with her mother about her abuse as a child. Elizabeth discusses the power that being able to tell your story holds and describes her relief at finally having an open discussion with her mother about the abuse. Courtney is an 18-year-old, White woman, who is completing a degree in psychology and speaks about how she was adopted during the interview process. Courtney has never looked for her birth mother despite receiving her adoption file last year. However, during the second interview she begins speaking about how the interview process has made her think about looking for her birth mother and states: "talking about it has reminded me how much I do want to see her" and "I've been putting it off because of my own insecurities and fears". Participating in these interviews

may have provided her the space to reflect on these decisions and make narrative connections. Murray (2003) argues that qualitative research interviews provide the space for participants to tell stories of their life and this creates a new process of identity construction, in which perceptions of their past experiences are shifted and reshaped. This can be seen in how Elizabeth opens up to her mother about her abuse and how Courtney decides to find her birth mother. Their perceptions of their past experiences change, as they tell and retell their life stories.

Kvale (2003) argues that psychoanalytical interviews, like the free association, narrative interviews used in this study, can create therapeutic benefits for participants. The interview process did appear to be therapeutic for a number of participants and a few of the women chose to participate in this study during a time of crisis, possibly for the potential cathartic benefits. For example, Phelisa participated in the interview process when her partner was hospitalised for AIDS-related health problems in Johannesburg and used the interview as a platform to speak about her trauma and her grief surrounding her partner's subsequent death. Nomzamo's story is another example of the possible therapeutic benefits of the interview process. Nomzamo is a 28-year-old, Black African woman, who is completing a social work degree and came into the interview process considerably stressed. Her grandparents were unemployed, her mother had been diagnosed with HIV, her brother had cancer and her sister passed away shortly after the first interview. As a result of her family's health problems and her impoverished background she was under considerable stress during the interview process, which was further compounded by her bronchitis infection. At the end of the second interview she recognised the therapeutic benefits of the research process and stated: "Thanks for your points and thanks for being my therapist. (Laughter). After the first interview I felt at least minus one problem". Participants

may experience individual emotional release as a result of the interview process, which is one of the most important functions of consciousness-raising and feminist research (Kelly, 2013).

However, revelations of repressed thoughts or events are also one of the characteristics of psychoanalytical, free association interviews (Colbourne & Sque, 2005). This can be seen in Phumla's story. Phumla is a 21-year-old, Black African woman, who is completing a degree in sociology and during the first interview speaks about how her ex-boyfriend tried to rape her. However in the second interview, she reveals that she remembered that her ex-boyfriend tried to rape her not once, but twice and only recalled this after the first interview. Often painful memories, like Phumla's detailed above, are repressed and 'forgotten' as a way to protect the individual from consciously coping with the trauma and anxiety associated with it (Klein, 1988a, 1988b).

I was surprised by the possible therapeutic and transformative effects of the interview process and the graphic stories the women shared. I underestimated the amount of violence present in the lives of female university students in South Africa, but ultimately I underestimated my own research. Although it is dangerous to assume that the interview process was therapeutic and beneficial for all participants (Parker, 2004b), speaking about your trauma can be transformative as it allows you to create more empowered subjectivities for yourself and provides a space for you to organize your emotions and experiences (Birch & Miller, 2000; Colbourne & Sque, 2005; Ellsberg & Heise, 2002; Mama, 1995; Murray, 2003). My interviews appeared to become cathartic opportunities for many women in my study and my year of data

collection in which I interviewed 27 women and conducted 54 interviews began to resemble an 'accidental trauma project'.

4.11. Ethical Considerations: The Practical and Critical Concerns

Various ethical considerations were taken into account in this research such as informed consent, confidentiality and avoidance of harm and deception. Participants were informed of the research topic. Informed consent was obtained before interviews were conducted and participation was emphasized as voluntary. Participants had a wide range of studies to choose from to obtain academic credit (SRPP points) and if they did not want to participate in this study they could complete another study to obtain their academic credit. Confidentiality was ensured, pseudonyms were used and any identifying information was removed from the interview texts. This issue can be problematic in this biographical-interpretive method as the more detailed an account of a participant the more likely it is to contain identifying information, however this issue was monitored carefully and extensive measures to protect confidentiality and anonymity were taken (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

Avoidance of harm to participants is central to the ethical considerations of qualitative research, not only in terms of physical harm, but also in terms of emotional and social harm (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Hewitt, 2007). As a researcher, researching psychosocial subjects it is important to adhere to principles such as honesty, sympathy and respect when interacting with participants to ensure that participants feel safe (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Participants were informed that if they were uncomfortable with the interview they were free to leave at any time and they would still receive academic credit. Participants may experience emotional discomfort

discussing the fear surrounding violence against women, their personal experiences or any other personal issues that may arise and as a result necessary support services were identified to participants. However, none of the participants pursued these support services. I endeavoured to make each participant feel comfortable and listened to. Each participant was debriefed after the interviews and I provided participants with any necessary information to complete their understanding of the research and addressed any unforeseen negative consequences or misconceptions arising from the interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Participants were given a debriefing pamphlet, containing information about violence against women, resources and a list of necessary support services (See Appendix G). I tried to listen attentively to my participants and encouraged them to contact me if they needed to talk or if they felt upset at any point.

However, as researchers we also have to ask ourselves the hard questions relating to the ethical considerations of our work: What right do we have to ask women, who already live in a country labelled the 'rape capital of the world' to speak about their lives and 'experiences' as women? What questions are we really asking? And what answers are we expecting? Is it ethical to ask these women to remove their masks of fear and lay down their defences so the researcher is able to ascertain a 'good' and ultimately vulnerable story? Josselon (1996, pp. xii) argue that "merely waving flags of informed consent and anonymity" is not enough to mask the truth that most participants only have a surface level understanding of how their story will be used, re-used and interpreted by a researcher for their own personal motivations. As researchers we uphold these principles of informed consent; confidentiality; anonymity; avoidance of harm to our participants and ourselves; (even) honesty; sympathy and respect, however we have to be mindful that no research is problem or value free (Josselon, 1996; Ndlovu, 2012). It is important

that as researchers we critically engage with our research journey and acknowledge the ethical paradoxes that we find ourselves embroiled in.

4.12. Addressing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

Quality criteria in qualitative research differs from the quantitative paradigm as qualitative research aims to ensure that research is credible (valid), dependable (reliable), transferable (generalizable) and confirmable (hypothesis-testing and replication) (Creswell, 1998; Lincon & Guba, 1985). Each term in positivist language has a qualitative counterpart however multiple measures were taken to ensure the trustworthiness of this qualitative study. Tracy (2010) argues that unvarying and fixed standards for qualitative research is problematic and there is no one set of standards for measuring the quality of qualitative research. Different criteria and techniques from different qualitative research scholars will be highlighted throughout this discussion. The following measures were employed to ensure the quality of this particular study: reflexivity; self-journaling; debriefing; prolonged engagement in the research setting; rich, thick description; peer reviewing; triangulation; practicing sincerity and achieving resonance, to name a few.

4.12.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to how accurately the researcher has represented the experiences of the participants (Creswell, 1998). Constant reflexivity was practiced in this study as it holds the researcher accountable for their own subjectivity and potential bias. Constant reflexivity ensures that the researcher is aware of potential influences; is able to critically examine her own role in the research process and recognises the limitations of the knowledge being produced (Guillemin

& Gillam, 2004). I was involved in a constant process of critical scrutiny at every stage of the research, constantly mindful of "the ethical dimensions of ordinary, everyday research practice" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 276). Self-journaling and peer debriefing was also utilized (Beale et al., 2004; Lalor et al., 2006; Stanko, 1997). This ensures that I was not harmed by the research study itself, which does focus on sensitive issues such as fear and violence against women.

Prolonged engagement in the research setting and with participants also ensures the credibility of this study. Prolonged engagement in the research setting is described as "building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking for misinformation that stems from distortions introduced by the researcher and informants" (Creswell, 1998, p. 201). Data collection took place over a 10 month period in which 54 interviews were conducted and I developed trust and rapport with her participants. The longitudinal nature of this research is indicative of the prolonged engagement with the research setting and participants. Triangulation was also utilized to ensure the credibility of the research (Mays & Pope, 2000; Tracy, 2010; Seale, 1999). Triangulation involves using "two or more sources of data, theoretical frameworks or types of data collected" (Tracy, 2010, p. 843). This research study utilized a psychosocial theoretical framework, which combined social constructionist theory, psychoanalysis, narrative theory and previous literature to analyse the interview material. This interpretative technique involved discourse analysis, exploring the unconscious motivations and attractions of these discourses and how they relate to the wider narrative of the individual. Tracy (2010) argues that utilizing triangulation opens up "a more complex, in-depth, but still thoroughly partial, understanding of the issue" (p. 844). This type of triangulation enhances the quality of

politically driven research studies, like this doctoral research, as the emancipatory effect is enhanced by the elicitation of multiple perspectives (Seale, 1999).

4.12.2 Dependability

Dependability refers to how well documented the research process was, in particular the data collection process (Creswell, 1998). I kept a detailed account of the research process, creating a paper trail for readers to follow. Peer reviewing, which refers to "an external check of the research process" (Creswell, 1998, p. 202), was also utilised to ensure the dependability of the research. The data analysis process was checked by my supervisor and colleagues, who critically reviewed the research process to ensure that it was carried out correctly.

4.12.3 Transferability

Transferability refers to how the research findings relate to other contexts (Creswell, 1998). A 'rich, thick description' of the study was provided to ensure the transferability and credibility of a qualitative study (Creswell, 1998; Tracy, 2010). Proving a rich, thick description enables "readers to transfer information to other settings and to determine whether the findings can be transferred because of shared characteristics" (Creswell, 1998, p.203). I also provided detailed information regarding the context of the study and my own background.

4.12.4. Addressing Other Criteria

Other important criteria issues were also addressed such as: the worthiness of the research topic; sincerity; resonance; significant contribution and meaningful coherence (Tracy, 2010). Tracy (2010) argues that good qualitative research is "relevant, timely, significant,

interesting and evocative" (p. 840). This research topic, which explores a culture of violence against women in South Africa and its psychological (psychosocial) impact, is highly relevant as violence against women currently represents a significant social problem in South Africa. The relevance, significance and evocative nature of this research was discussed in wider detail in the introductory chapter and literature review. Tracy (2010) argues that qualitative research must demonstrate a level of sincerity, referring to the honesty, self-reflexivity and transparency of the researcher. I practiced self-reflexivity throughout this process and have documented that throughout this thesis. I have also practiced transparency throughout the research process and was honest and sincere with participants. I practiced empathy, a non-judgmental stance and self-awareness throughout my interview process and during the data analysis I looked at how my role as the interviewer may have co-constructed the research process. I questioned myself continuously throughout the data analysis to check that I did not impose my own prejudices and biases on the process.

Tracy (2010) argues that qualitative research must achieve a sense of resonance and states that resonance refers to "the researcher's ability to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience" (p. 844). This research appeared to have a significant impact on the women that I interviewed as many acknowledged the cathartic and transformative benefits of the interview process. One woman reported that participating in the interview process gave her the strength to speak to her mother openly about being sexually molested as a child. Another woman reported that the interview process had helped her reach a decision to find her birth mother as she was adopted as a child. These women's stories have affected me as a researcher and changed who I am significantly. Arminio and Hultgreen (2002) argue that "interpretive research is initiated for

the purpose of improving the world through more informed action" (p. 457). This research is posed to do that and has already made significant changes in the lives of these women, myself and hopefully the research community. I believe that this study is a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge surrounding violence against women. It represents a piece of research that builds awareness surrounding the impact that violence against women has on all women.

4.13. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodological undertakings of this research study. I endeavoured to be as transparent as possible and provided a detailed description of these methodological procedures. The qualitative, biographical-interpretive methodological framework adopted in this study allowed me to explore the experiences of women in South Africa and how they constructed their identity in the midst of violence. The following results chapters will explore the meta-narratives and discourses, which emerged, from participants' stories. Women's stories will be discussed in relation to these wider narratives and discourses, providing a window into the way young women navigate their identity in the violent South African context.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRODUCTION OF SUBORDINATE FEMINITY: NARRATIVES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE, FEAR AND VULNERABILITY

5.1. Introduction

The research questions of this study, outlined in the previous chapter, will be addressed in this results section. This qualitative research study explores how young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in a culture of violence against women, such as South Africa. The research questions central to this study are: (a) How are women affected by living in a society where violence against women is prevalent and tolerated? (b) What is the psychological (psychosocial) impact of a culture of violence on women? The following sub-questions were also posed: (1) What narratives do these women construct in this context? (2) What discourses do these women invest in and how do these discourses construct their understanding of the world? (3) What are the unconscious motivations and attractions of these discourses? Exploring each of these questions allow us to critically and discursively analyse how these women construct their identity in a violent context, highlighting the fusion between the shared social and individual worlds of these women. The results section explores the overarching theme of the production of subordinate femininity, in which women are taught to conform to a 'subordinate' construction of femininity and are constantly being regulated and punished for transgressing from these constructions of femininity. The first results chapter grounds the discussion of the discourse of subordinate femininity, highlighting how women are constructed as subordinate through the production of different narratives, such as the historical narratives of family violence, early narratives of learning to fear men and narratives of fearing public spaces. How these women

produce and resist the discourse of subordinate femininity is central to the findings of the study, and is explored in this chapter. The following results chapter explores the discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression.

At this point it is important to note that there are no 'results' in qualitative research but only "a series of interpretations that are open to question" because there are multiple truths embedded in each participant's account (Parker, 2004b, p. 146). Furthermore, in terms of the literature on violence against women, there appears to be a disconnection between the raw emotional nature of experience and academic discourse (Campbell, 2002a). As a result, I have endeavoured to portray these raw emotional experiences of trauma as the women themselves presented them to me. As a researcher and a woman involved in the struggle against gender-based violence, I hope I do justice to these stories.

5.2. Historical Narratives of Family Violence

Historical narratives of family violence were constructed in six of the women's narrative accounts in this study. These women re-enacted the telling and retelling of stories of violence against women, recounting the violence that was perpetrated against their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters and themselves growing up. These women drew on past narratives of other family members and incorporated these into their own self-narratives, emphasising how listening to the narratives of others allows us to make sense of our own experiences (Denham, 2008). Three of the women recalled personal memories of how they witnessed domestic violence growing up, whilst only one woman recalled being sexually abused by a family member and two of the women spoke of second-hand accounts of violence that were perpetrated against their

mothers in the past. The emergence of these historical narratives of family violence emphasizes how violence has affected these women's self-narratives and identity construction because they are taught from an early age to fear male violence, which produces this construction of subordinate femininity and narratives of fear and vulnerability. The sub-narratives subsumed under this theme, discussed below, include: negotiating relationships with abusive fathers and exploring stories of mothering.

5.2.1. Negotiating Relationships with Abusive Fathers.

Amanda, Simone and Saamiqa grew up witnessing their fathers physically and emotionally abuse their mothers, whilst Caitlyn's father was abusive towards her and not her mother. One central issue that emerged from these women's narratives was how they negotiated their relationships with their fathers. According to psychoanalytic theory, early object relations are based on early identification with parental figures and as a result, a child whose parent is abusive or neglectful will internalise these negative feelings (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Fairbairn, 1943). The child will begin to believe that they themselves are bad. The child requires these early object relations no matter how unhealthy or abusive, and may engage in various techniques to negate these negative feelings, such as 'splitting', minimising the abuse or distancing or dissociating oneself from the abuse (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Fairbairn, 1943). Splitting permits us to believe in the 'good' aspects of an individual by splitting off the 'bad' aspects of them and locating them elsewhere (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009; Klein, 1988a, 1988b). The child may split off the bad traits of the abusive father and internalise these bad traits, which represents the need to control these negative emotions (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Fairbairn, 1943). These patterns of

splitting, minimization and distancing can be seen across Amanda, Simone, Saamiqa and Caitlyn's stories of negotiating relationships with abusive fathers.

Amanda is a 23-year-old, Black African[8], medical student, who had a baby five months prior to the first interview and is engaged to another student at the university. Demonstrating an example of 'splitting', Amanda speaks about the domestic violence she witnessed during her childhood.

> I actually grew up in a family that was very abusive. My dad was physically abusive towards my mom all the time and it was a thing that I grew up with and maybe it has to do like this whole thing with not trusting men has to do with that, like I'm just scared of like the whole thing because I feel like men think that because of their physical strength that they can just overpower women like that. Like I'm constantly on my guard but you know.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Amanda's statement about men's strength locates the motivation behind domestic violence in the "physical strength" of men. This naturalizes and normalizes domestic violence by constructing it as a result of the biological differences in/between men and women. Amanda constructs men as more physically powerful than women and as a result, "they can just overpower women like that". This is aligned with other studies, which found that both men and women constructed women as vulnerable and men as dangerous in their everyday talk about violence (Hollander; 2001, Mehta, 1999). Boonzaier and de La Rey (2003) found that the terms 'man' and 'woman' are imbued with notions of authority and subordination, which serve to

socially construct gender roles. This discourse of gender is dangerous as it normalizes intimate partner violence by constructing it as a natural and inevitable part of a heterosexual relationship. Amanda may be constructing abuse as a result of the 'natural' physical strength of men because this allows her to distance herself from the abuse that her own father perpetrated against her mother. Amanda constructed her relationship with her father as positive throughout the interviews, despite her substantial talk surrounding his abusive behaviour. By 'splitting' off her father's bad traits embodied in his abusive behaviour onto her construction of the biological physical strength of men, she is able to retain this positive relationship with him (Klein, 1988a, 1988b). Amanda disguises her internal trouble regarding her father's abusive behaviour by constructing his abusive behaviour as the result of the natural biological physical strength that men possess. Amanda's use of the word 'overpower' refers to an overwhelming force, which shifts the blame of the abuse away from the perpetrator and towards external forces, mitigating the abuse as violence is a deliberate action and not a result of overwhelming forces (Coates & Wade, 2004; Richardson & Wade, 2010; Wade, 1997).

Throughout both interviews it became clear that Amanda condemned her father for the abuse he perpetrated against her mother, however at the same time she also defends his behaviour.

> The way in which my mom used to explain it was that my dad had a bad childhood and that's why he's reacting like this.
>
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above she draws on her mother's explanation that her father's abusive behaviour was a result of his 'bad childhood', which may further legitimatise this discourse of minimising abuse for Amanda. Similarly, Simone, an 18-year-old, White, psychology student, who lives with her parents in a suburb near the university, also engages in splitting and attributes her father and grandfather's abuse to external forces such as alcoholism, mitigating the abuse and responsibility of the perpetrator (Coates & Wade, 2007; Wade, 1997). Simone witnessed her father's abuse against her mother but did not witness her grandfather's abuse against her mother and was only told about it by her mother. Adams (2011) argues that chronic violence in a society, such as South Africa, leads to the naturalization of violent behaviour and the intergenerational transmission of violence, which can be seen in the family violence in Simone's family. Simone links her history of family violence with alcohol abuse in the excerpts below.

> He (grandfather) was a drunk and he would get very aggressive when he was drunk and he would physically abuse my grandmother and some of my aunts but never my mom.
> (Simone, 18-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 2)

> And also my father used to be an alcoholic and when he was an alcoholic he used to beat my mother so that has directly impacted on me.
> (Simone, 18-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1).

Coates and Wade (2004) argue that attributing alcohol abuse as an underlying cause of gender-based violence works to minimise the abuse, as well as the perpetrator's culpability. In the first interview, Simone describes an incident in which her father hit her mother, which took

place the year preceding the interview. This is in contradiction to her earlier statement in the interview in which she indicated that her father stopped beating her mother when she was "very young" because that time coincided with his recovery from alcoholism. She emphasises repeatedly in the interviews that her father only beat her mother when he *was* an alcoholic. This is reiterated in the excerpt below.

I: When did he stop being an alcoholic?

Simone: When I was very young. Ja very young.

(Simone, 18-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

This contradiction could indicate how Simone uses her father's alcohol abuse as a mitigating factor for his violent actions, which serves to minimise the abuse and helps her retain a positive relationship with him (Coates & Wade, 2004). This allows Simone to project her father's 'bad' traits and his abusive behaviour onto his alcoholism, permitting her to believe in the 'good' aspects of her father (Hollway & Jefferson, 2009; Klein, 1988a, 1988b). Boonzaier and de La Rey (2003) recognise that women in abusive relationships may also employ splitting, creating a split between the "good/sober husband and the drunk/beast husband" (p. 1012). It appears that this can also occur in the children of abusive parents as well. Both Amanda and Simone use splitting to construct a positive relationship with their fathers and this creates the space for them to condemn their fathers' use of violence by attributing it to external forces such as alcoholism or the 'natural' physical strength of men. This finding is similar to other research in which women attribute intimate partner violence to external forces, such as alcohol abuse (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004; Coates & Wade, 2007; Kaur & Garg, 2010).

In the excerpt below, Amanda speaks about how her father used to send her mother roses and chocolate, which reinforces the positive image of her father that she appears to be projecting.

> Like my dad does that and I used to envy my mom so much like every time, every other day on their anniversary she'd get roses and chocolate and a card saying 'Happy Anniversary' and things like that.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 2)

Mentioning these 'good' traits (the roses and chocolate) may represent how Amanda is compensating for her father's 'bad' traits (his abusive behaviour towards her mother). Whilst she recognises the abuse he perpetrated against her mother, she simultaneously defends his actions, minimising his abuse by discussing mitigating factors such as his "bad childhood" and times that he treated both her and her mother well. Amanda's splitting involves an idealisation of the (abusive) father who is imagined as the ideal husband. In this case of splitting Amanda can be seen as idealising her father and shifting negative emotion onto her mother, which may be seen in her comment of envying her mother above. Amanda's statement surrounding envying her mother may be evidence of her criticism towards her mother and how her mother has become a repository for blame and the negative feelings she has regarding the abuse. Amanda also speaks about her mother's submissive behaviour towards her father throughout the interviews and makes statements such as "So because of the way their relationships is she still can't stand on her own" and "she even feels like she can't survive without my father anymore", which may be indicative of her critical attitude towards her mother and the idealisation of her father.

In the excerpt below, Amanda continues to present her father in a positive light, which can also be seen as one of the ways she minimises his abusive behaviour.

> I remember when I told my dad that I had a boyfriend. He was actually quite angry about it and when I asked him why and he's like "Amanda I don't want you to involve yourself in situations where you're not going to be able to spread your wings and fly. I want you to be ready. I want you to go to university and study, like find your feet first before you can be in a relationship because I feel like I have taken so many things away from your mom and whenever I look at you it's like you remind me so much of your mother. She was a passionate individual, very intelligent, smart and you could tell she had a bright future ahead of her but she (pause) ended up being stuck in that situation that was just like over and over abusive." (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

The excerpt above paints her father in a positive light as he is positioned as caring for Amanda's well-being and future. This is another example of how her father is idealised. Amanda constructs her father as remorseful for the abuse her mother suffered and while acknowledging the abuse, her father (from Amanda's second-hand account) speaks about her mother's abuse as if he is not the perpetrator and distances himself from any responsibility he may have as the perpetrator. This may mirror Amanda's own feelings, as she also appears to acknowledge her mother's abuse, however distances her father from any responsibility as the perpetrator, referring to the abuse as "that situation". It is important to note that Amanda is narrating her father's part of the story and at one point, I wondered if this was what he actually said or if this part of the

story is presented in a particular way to fit in with her construction of her father as a kind but abusive man. The excerpt above also suggests unhealthy transference between Amanda and her father as her father seems to want her to relive the life her mother was denied. Amanda speaks about how her mother also wants this, which is shown in her statement in the first interview: "It also came to a point where she (Amanda's mother) put pressure on me to go to university because I felt like she really wanted me to live her dream for her. If I could do that one thing that she always wanted to do then maybe she would feel sort of fulfilled". This places considerable pressure on Amanda as she may (on an unconscious level) link her success at university to her mother's happiness and resolving her parent's abusive relationship.

Amanda speaks about how her father's abuse stopped when she was 15 and he "changed" in the excerpts below. The fact that the abuse stopped may also explain why Amanda distances her father from the role of the abusive husband.

> It carried on for I think 16 years of their marriage and they've been married for 24 years so I was like 15 I think when it stopped.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

> I think it stopped because my mom went, had an accident, it was in an ambulance so she lost the baby and all of a sudden my dad changed and wanted to be a better man and everything. So ja it changed then.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Amanda's description of her mother's miscarriage is ambiguous as she describes how her mother "went, had an accident" and then proceeds to talk about how her father changed. If Amanda's mother's miscarriage was caused by her father's abuse (which is undetermined), then the term 'accident' minimises the traumatic nature of the miscarriage. Amanda may describe her mother's miscarriage in this way to help her retain a positive relationship with her father and minimise any anger she may feel towards him because of his abuse. Remembering the miscarriage as an accident leaves her father blameless and protects her idealisation of her father. However, this appears to evoke considerable emotional distress in Amanda as she struggles to talk about this. However, without confirmation from Amanda, it is unclear whether her father caused the miscarriage or it was 'an accident'. As the researcher, I can only offer different possible interpretations. Reflecting on my interviews with Amanda, I realized that I never re-addressed the issue of her mother's miscarriage. She became visibly upset during the first interview when she began discussing it and seemed unwilling to elaborate so I did not press her to explore it any further. In retrospect, I wonder if this was a mistake on my part as the ambiguity surrounding the nature of her mother's miscarriage represents a missing piece in her narrative. However, as a feminist researcher I have to respect what the participant chooses to include and exclude in the construction of their narrative. It is not my responsibility to 'fix' someone's narrative so that it appears coherent for my own research purposes. It is important to recognise that the silence surrounding her mother's miscarriage may represent another story in itself.

Simone also minimises her father's abuse by using minimising and mutualising language and possibly omitting details. In the excerpt below, she discusses how she only remembers her

father beating her mother once, despite stating in the first interview that it occurred once or *twice*.

> I've only witnessed my father hitting my mother once but it wasn't that hectic. It was kind of him pushing her around and hitting her but then she was hitting him back. Then I got in the middle so I stopped it before it could get hectic. That's the only incident really (pauses) that I've seen personally.
>
> (Simone, 18-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 2)

In the excerpt above, Simone describes her father's abuse as not "that hectic" and uses terms that minimise the abuse such as "pushing her around". She then begins to use mutualising language by stating, "hitting her but then she was hitting him back" which reconstructs the attack as a fight, implying the mutual participation of both parties and not a violent act perpetuated by the abuser. Whilst it is possible that her mother was trying to defend herself against his attack and was fighting back, which does indicate a possible act of resistance, Richardson and Wade (2010) argue that "this mutualisation obscures the fact that sometimes people are attacked and violence can be unilateral, even in intimate relationships" (p. 141). The trend of using mutualising language to minimise intimate partner violence is also found in other research, both locally (Boonzaier, 2008) and in Canada (Coates & Wade, 2007; Richardson & Wade, 2010). Simone then claims that this was the "only incident really (pauses) that I've seen personally" which may infer that there were other incidences of abuse that she knew about but either did not witness or is unwilling to share. Simone's contradictory account of this domestic violence indicates that she both recognises the abuse that her father perpetrated against her mother but

also minimizes this violence in her narrative because she may be unable to deal with her conflicting emotions regarding her father's abusive behaviour. Both Amanda and Simone's accounts of their fathers' abusive behaviour may be indicative of their attempt to retain a positive relationship with their fathers and possibly their inability to fully assign blame or express feelings of anger to their fathers.

In contrast to Amanda and Simone, Saamiqa and Caityln do not appear to minimise or gloss over any of the details of their fathers' abuse. Instead, they detail the raw experience of this abuse. Saamiqa is a 21-year-old, Coloured, psychology student, who grew up witnessing domestic violence and has two younger sisters and a younger brother. She tells her story of her father's abusive behaviour in the excerpt below.

> As a child I've witnessed extreme amounts of violence. When I was five years old my parents would argue. Like extreme amounts of violence and he'd throw plates and they'd break on her head and stuff like that. He went on drugs after a few years. I think I was about six. Then he started beating my mom. He would take her head and bash it into the wall.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

Below is an excerpt in which she describes her mother's suicide attempt and her father's reaction to it.

> One day my mommy got upset she couldn't understand why he was doing this. She took a handful of sleeping tablets in front of them and she swallowed them with water and he

> laughed while the white foam was coming out of her mouth while the three of us were sitting there. Small children watching TV and we ran to her and we said "Mommy what's wrong, what's wrong?" and she just fell back and then my dad laughed and we cried and "Daddy help her. Help her" and he just laughed.
>
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

It appears that unlike Amanda and Simone, Saamiqa does not engage in splitting, minimization or any attempt to retain a positive image of her father. However, Amanda and Simone's fathers are still married to their mothers and they both still maintain relationships with their fathers whilst Saamiqa's father has been absent from her life since she was a child. Saamiqa does not have a relationship with her father anymore, her mother's first abuser and has no personal investment in constructing him in a positive light. This may indicate why she does not engage in splitting, minimization or any other technique aimed at preserving a connection with him. As a result, she is able to recognise the abuse he perpetrated against her mother. However, splitting can involve disowning 'good' traits too and Saamiqa may have split off the 'good' traits of her father to help her construct him as the 'bad' parent. This allows her to construct the monster-as-the-perpetrator narrative because her father can be completely constructed as the 'bad' parent, negating any ambiguity she may have surrounding her relationship with her father and his abuse of her mother.

Similarly, Caitlyn also does not appear to engage in any splitting, minimization or attempt to portray her father in a positive light during her narrative account of how her father sexually abused her between the ages of six and 11 years of age. Like Saamiqa, she

acknowledges the abuse, however she attributes this reaction to the extensive therapy she has received because of her childhood sexual abuse, which is highlighted in the excerpt below.

> It's been a long road. The last four years. I've been admitted to institutions nine times. I've seen psychologists along the way. It's been a rough road.
> (Caitlyn, 21-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above Caitlyn constructs the emotional recovery from her childhood sexual abuse as a physical journey she has embarked on. Both Saamiqa and Caitlyn are able to construct the monster-as-the-perpetrator narrative comfortably and without internal conflict. They may both spilt off the 'good' traits of their father so that they are able to construct him as the 'bad' parent, which prevents them from having to navigate any sort of emotional ambiguity inherent in these paternal relationships. Saamiqa and Caitlyn's ability to construct their fathers as the 'bad' parent and comfortably attribute blame to them may be because both their parents are divorced and as a result, they are able to comfortably separate their abusive father from their family narrative.

Caitlyn's aunt was also abused by her father, emphasising the historical narrative of family violence emerging from her narrative account of her own abuse.

> The year before my aunt had phoned my mom to tell her about her getting sexually abused when she was younger by Michael (Caitlyn's father). She didn't phone earlier by that (pause) but she phoned just in case it had happened again. I was like well it's a bit late. I think when

> that phone call happened she suspected because even though I had never said anything to her. She could see our relationship was really messed up. It wasn't a healthy normal relationship. (Caitlyn, 21-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

Caitlyn only recovered the memories of her abuse a year prior to the interviews and shared this revelation with her mother after the phone call from her aunt. In the excerpt above, Caitlyn refers to her father by his first name 'Michael' and seldom refers to him as her father in the interviews. This may represent how she distances herself from him and his subject positioning as 'father' in her narrative account. This is similar to Saamiqa who also uses language to distance herself from her father. In the second interview, Saamiqa speaks about her mother's life and states, "My mom was raped and she was forced to leave school. She married this horrible man". Saamiqa does not elaborate on her mother's rape and the horrible man that she refers to is Saamiqa's biological father. Saamiqa distances herself from her abusive father by referring to him as "this horrible man" and Caitlyn distances herself from her abusive father by constantly referring to him by his first name in the interview process. This linguistic tool helps them both remove any familiarity or identification from these men as their parental figures. This construction also entrenches the detachment that Saamiqa and Caitlyn employ when discussing their fathers. Saamiqa's stepfather who married her mother five years ago is as she describes in the first interview"…a real father. He's everything that you wanted in a father. You hardly get that". Saamiqa chooses to emotionally invest in her new stepfather and reject her abusive biological father. Saamiqa and Caitlyn's coping strategy of distancing themselves from their abusive fathers and their construction of the monster-as-the perpetrator narrative may be seen as representing effective strategies to defend against powerlessness and anxiety.

Amanda and Simone's talk surrounding their fathers indicated how they may have internalised these negative object relations and engaged in splitting. They both minimised their fathers' abusive behaviour in an attempt to retain a 'positive' or 'safe' relationship with their fathers. However, Saamiqa and Caitlyn did not appear to internalise these negative object relations or engage in splitting or minimization, as their parents are divorced and no longer have to maintain close relationships with their fathers. Saamiqa chooses rather to invest in her new stepfather as her paternal figure. However, unlike Saamiqa, Caitlyn continues to maintain by her own account a "very superficial" relationship with her father, but still acknowledges the traumatic nature of the abuse. Exploring Amanda, Simone, Saamiqa and Caitlyn's stories have allowed us (both the readers and author) to develop a deeper understanding of how children negotiate their relationships with their abusive fathers.

5.2.2. Exploring Stories of Mothering

Amanda, Saamiqa, Camilla and Courtney placed a specific emphasis on the role that their mothers played in their lives. Their narratives seemed to revolve around their relationship with their mothers, with stories of mothering emerging as a common theme. Kelly (2013) found in her own feminist research on sexual violence that the role of mothers was pivotal as they were considered powerful and were often characterised by unrealistic expectations. Barrett and McIntosh (1982, 1985) describe a 'familial' discourse, in which relationships are constructed as revolving around the nuclear family structure, namely parents and siblings. When individuals that invest in this discourse construct their self-narrative it typically revolves around relationships within the nuclear family structure. However, this may be more common for

women as they are socialised to regard relationships and emotional attachment as important (Bertraux-Wiame, 1982). Research indicates that the 'female' form of self-narrative involves a shifting of protagonists and a considerable amount of talk about relationships with others and the life stories of others (Bertraux-Wiame, 1982; Byrne, 2003). The presence of the 'female' form of narrative, historical narratives of family violence and the familial discourse positions the women discussed in this chapter in the subject positions of daughters, sisters and even mothers, situating their identity in their family history. Hollway and Jefferson (2005a) argue that social discourses construct an array of subject positions, providing us with a way to link individual subjects and the social world. However, people do not easily and actively choose which subject positions they take up, as Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2003) state, "subject positions are coercive and complex" (p. 52). This section explores these stories of mothering and the coercive and complex subject positions that Amanda, Saamiqa, Camilla and Courtney position themselves in their narratives.

Both Amanda and Saamiqa grew up in homes characterised by domestic violence and witnessed the violence their fathers perpetrated against their mothers. Amanda's father is still married and living with her mother, however the abuse has stopped. Whilst Saamiqa's father and mother are divorced and the abuse stopped when her father left. Both Saamiqa and Amanda construct their subject positioning as daughters as problematic and stressful. Amanda positions maternal responsibility and the roles of being both a daughter and a new mother as pivotal to her narrative. Amanda gave birth five months prior to the first interview and discusses her decision over whether her parents or her fiancé's parents should care for their child whilst she completes her studies. She experienced post-partum depression after the birth of her child and was

receiving treatment at a local hospital during the time of the interviews. She originally decided to leave her child with her own parents, however changed her mind and decided that her fiancé's parents should rather care for the child. Amanda pinpoints the source of her postpartum depression on her anxiety surrounding this decision. She discusses her decision in the excerpt below.

> And also the thing that actually triggered my depression was anxiety with my parents. I had made a decision that my baby was going to stay with my parents but when my baby actually left with my mom. I was very anxious. It was almost like she was going to grow up in the same situation that I grew up in. I remember some nights my dad would just come home and he's drunk and would start hitting my mom. And we'd all like run, like start running, like run to my aunt's house in the middle of the night we'd run. Those things just started coming in my head all over again. And I just thought my baby's going to be in that situation again and I don't know if it's going to pop again, like if it's going to start again. So I couldn't take it. Literally my baby left on a Thursday and on a Monday I was at home I took my baby to my fiancés place. I was like "I can't".
>
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

The conflict and tension surrounding whether or not to send her child to her own parents or her fiancé's parents is rooted in her own childhood stories of trauma. She begins to experience flashbacks and worries that her own child will have the same experience as her. Frankish and Bradbury (2012) argue that this intergenerational story telling interweaves traumatic, nostalgic recollection and forgetting. Her story of having to escape her own home in the middle of the

night when she was just a child is deeply moving. It is interesting to note that when Amanda describes how her father would beat her mother she uses the past tense: "It *was* almost like she *was* going to grow up in the same situation that I *grew* up in". She then changes to the present tense as soon as she begins recollecting the abuse: "I *remember* some nights my dad would just *come* home and he's drunk and would *start hitting* my mom." When Amanda describes how her and her younger brother would escape the house, she states "And we'd all like *run*, like *start running*, like *run* to my aunt's house in the middle of the night we'd *run*". She uses the word 'run' four times in this sentence, possibly emphasizing her anxiety and extreme discomfort. Her use of the active verb 'run' and 'running' and the present tense is highly significant. When she begins to recount these past events, she situates the listener in the present moment, right back to that specific time in her childhood. This could be an indication of how she is re-experiencing this trauma as she recounts these events. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that slipping into the present tense can suggest continuing emotional significance of this relationship and these events. The use of the present tense in this excerpt shows the continuing impact that growing up in a context of domestic violence has on Amanda. As a result of this remembering and reflection Amanda decides to remove her child from her parents' care. Her narrative reflection and subsequent decision emphasises how realizations and narrative connections are made after the fact, highlighting the important role that hindsight plays in our own self-understanding (Freeman, 2009).

The birth of her child is highly significant and represents a turning point in Amanda's narrative as it symbolises the point at which she had to confront her childhood memories of witnessing domestic violence, her idealised and tentative relationship with her father, and the

considerable pressure she feels both her mother and father have placed on her. The fantasy Amanda constructed surrounding her childhood and her relationship with her parents appears to have shattered upon the arrival of her own child as becoming a mother has forced her into confronting the truth of her own childhood. Further on in the interview she discusses how her decision to take her child to her fiancé's parents resulted in her parents disowning her. Amanda stated in the interviews that being disowned was one of the major contributors to her postpartum depression.

> Amanda: They were very upset. They disowned me. My dad disowned me. My mom disowned me.
>
> Interviewer: They still disowned you?
>
> Amanda: No they asked for forgiveness now and we're still working things out.
>
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Amanda mentions the word 'disowned' three times, possibly emphasizing the detrimental impact this estrangement from her parents has had on her. Amanda's childhood story of witnessing domestic violence has had and continues to have a significant impact on her life. This has affected her own role as a mother and has caused her to be very protective over her own child, as she doesn't want the cycle of violence to continue.

Alternatively, Saamiqa tells stories of the violence that both her sister and mother endured, positioning herself as a daughter and a sister in her narrative of intergenerational

trauma. In the excerpt below, Saamiqa discusses how her family recently discovered her sister was raped when she was 11 years old and her mother's reaction to this.

> My sister, the middle sister, she was raped. She was, but that was like when she was 11 years old but she didn't tell us 'til now.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

> I mean my mom she couldn't handle this because I mean she went through this as a child. She didn't want us to go through this as a child. She wanted to protect us all her life.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

Because of this new revelation that a distant family relative raped her sister, the whole family sought counselling. Saamiqa states that her mother "wanted to protect us all her life". However, her mother was involved in two abusive relationships (Saamiqa's biological father and the following relationship) and one relationship in which her partner sexually abused Saamiqa. Saamiqa is reluctant to criticize her mother for her choices and often defends her. This helps her construct a positive relationship with her mother and she presents a positive picture of her mother to both herself and me, the interviewer. In the second interview, she states, "So it's a very difficult relationship because I can't say bad things about her" because she states "I feel bad about it because she's offered up everything in her life for us". These statements indicate how Saamiqa may experience guilt because of the sacrifices she perceives her mother has made for her and as a result, she is unable to fully acknowledge any negative feelings she has towards her. Alternatively, this is could also be an example of splitting as Saamiqa constructs her mother as

the ‘good object’ and her father as the ‘bad object’ and as a result struggles to acknowledge the negative aspects of her mother. Despite Saamiqa’s portrayal of her mother as positive and protective, she tells the story of how she was sexually molested by one of her mother’s boyfriends when she was 16.

> Once I woke up and I was sleeping and I felt someone touching under my sweater thing under my belly and his hand was going up. And I thought my mom doesn’t do this. My sister doesn’t do this. And he was standing above me smiling down on me. And I was thinking what the hell what’s happening here and then he laughed and I shouted mommy because my mommy was in the bathroom. She didn’t know he was there...
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

> I never told my mom because she was madly in love with this guy and I’d never seen her so happy. And I didn’t want to be the cause of her unhappiness. I mean we were the cause of her unhappiness for so long. Her abuse by my dad. Her second husband. I told you about him right? Then this guy, her fiancé.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above, Saamiqa speaks about how in love her mother was with the man who sexually abused her and how she was scared that telling her mother about the abuse would jeopardize their relationship. Saamiqa’s statement: “I didn’t want to be the cause of her unhappiness. I mean we were the cause of her unhappiness for so long”, reinforces a discourse of self-blame in which she blames herself for the abuse that her mother suffered and her own sexual

abuse. Saamiqa positions her relationship with her mother as central to her narrative and also constructs herself and her sisters, by the use of the pronoun “we” as the “cause of her unhappiness”. This may indicate how Saamiqa links her mother’s happiness and approval with her own happiness and self-acceptance. Later on in the first interview, she states that her mother told her “If you ruin my relationship for me then I’ll hate you”, which is the main reason Saamiqa did not disclose the abuse to her mother. Despite her mother’s statement, Saamiqa does not express any overt anger towards her mother. This lack of directive anger and frustration is glossed over in the wider narrative and may possibly indicate a deeper sense of internalized anger. Her mother ended her relationship with this man when she discovered he was involved with other women, not because of her daughter’s negatives feelings towards him. This is important to note as it indicates unresolved issues Saamiqa may have with her mother and deepens our understanding of the contradictory and ambivalent relationship she has with her mother.

Saamiqa is aware of this paradoxical and potentially damaging relationship with her mother and encapsulates this when she states in the second interview “I feel hurt by her all the time but I also want her acceptance all the time so it’s I don’t know I can’t explain”. In the first interview, Saamiqa states, “We were always safe. It was just that mommy wasn’t safe”, which could again possibly indicate internalised guilt that her mother suffered the bulk of abuse (Wiseman, Metzl, & Barber, 2006). This guilt may lead to Saamiqa over-compensating for her mother by splitting off her bad traits. She may also repress these bad aspects of her mother and imagine her more loving than she is (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Fairbairn, 1943). The splitting and internalisation of object relations in Saamiqa’s narrative may be a possible indication that

she is protecting her mother and assuming responsibility for any abuse levelled against her (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Fairbairn, 1943). In light of this, it is important for Saamiqa to present her mother as the central figure of her narrative. This is reinforced in the second interview when she states: "She's basically all my life". However, she also describes her mother's behaviour towards her as emotionally abusive and speaks about how her mother swears at her and calls her names often. In the second interview, she states:

> Can't she shout without swearing? I can't handle it anymore. I feel like I'm breaking. That's when I realized this does really upset someone. Like verbal abuse.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 1)

She even states in the second interview that her mother will tell her "You remind me of your father" as a way to hurt her. This verbal abuse represents how Saamiqa's mother may be projecting her unacceptable feelings about her abusive ex-husband onto her. Projective identification, in which an individual projects unacceptable feelings on to another, is a common coping mechanism for parents suffering from trauma (Klein, 2013; Weingarten, 2004). Rowland-Klein and Dunlop (1998) argue that parents unconsciously use their children as a means of recovery, by projecting the very feelings they are unable to deal with in their own lives, such as fear, anger, aggression, shame and hate, onto their children because their children represent 'safe objects'. Yehuda et al. (2000) argues that the stories that survivors carry internally can be passed on and live on in the experiences of the second generation. This appears to be true as Saamiqa draws on her mother's own traumatic past to construct her own narrative account. Saamiqa may

possibly identify with her mother's projection of her as the abuser, which is another explanation for the feelings of guilt that Saamiqa talks about during the interview process.

Despite this seemingly ambivalent relationship with her mother, Saaamiqa and her mother appear to have quite a communicative relationship. Saamiqa often refers to her mother's own abuse as a child and it appears that it is a subject matter that she has discussed in detail with her mother. This is unlike Camilla's relationship with her mother, which is characterised by silence and there is considerable talk in Camilla's historical narrative of family violence about this 'conspiracy of silence'. Camilla is a 26-year-old, White, History student, who lives with her parents and brother in a suburb near the university. Camilla speaks about how her mother was physically abused by her grandfather (Camilla's mother's father) when she was younger and the 'conspiracy of silence' that surrounds this abuse in the excerpts below.

> I mean I heard the stories from my aunt about what my grandfather did to her and I can understand her not wanting to tell us. It was quite horrific hearing someone bashed your mother's head against the wall because they were angry at her.
> (Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 1)

> And I would have not have liked my mom to tell, I think that's a bit childish thing to say but I prefer hearing it from my aunt, than my mom because thinking that someone in my family could do that to my mom is a horrible thought. And I just, I don't know it's hard to hear and it's hard to think that someone went through that. And I can understand why she doesn't like to talk about it or bring it up in any conversation.

(Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 1)

In the excerpts above Camilla speaks about how she preferred that her aunt told her about the abuse instead of her mother, which may indicate how she does not even want her mother to verbalise the abuse and instead chooses to distance herself from the abuse her mother suffered. Camilla states that her mother "doesn't like to talk about it or bring it up in any conversation". She refers to 'it' as the abuse her mother suffered and does not mention the terms 'violence' or 'abuse' anywhere in the excerpts above. Her avoidance of these terms may be symbolic of how she avoids speaking to her mother about her abuse and the subsequent silence that surrounds it. Camilla's mother's silence surrounding her own abuse also opens itself up to multiple interpretations. Silence surrounding an event, such as Camilla's mother's abuse, may be due to the traumatic nature of the event, however it may also indicate that what which is "too precious, too 'real' to be said" (Frosh, 2001, p. 640). Sometimes words cannot fully represent the traumatic nature of an experience because of the emotions invested in these experiences (Frosh, 2001). Narrative may fail to do justice to a traumatic experience, as it cannot encapsulate the overwhelming wealth of meaning and emotion involved. Frosh (2001) argues that "discourse flattens experience" (p. 640) and when something that is precious is spoken about then parts of its meaning are lost in the process. Throughout both interviews, Camilla does not indicate any intention to talk to her mother about her abuse or any acknowledgment that she has done so in the past. This lack of communication is reflected in the nature of Camilla's relationship with her mother and in the follow-up interview, Camilla describes this relationship more.

> It gets frustrating sometimes. It gets really like she'll be angry with you and she just won't talk to you and you'll say "Mom why aren't you talking to me?" And she'll say "You know why".
>
> (Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 2)

Camilla's relationship with her mother appears to be characterized by silence and may be representative of the silence surrounding her mother's own trauma. Danieli (1998b) argues that it is this "conspiracy of silence" (p. 4) that defines intergenerational trauma in families, in which silence is the key mechanism in which trauma is communicated across generations (Weingarten, 2004). Danieli (1998a) argues that intergenerational trauma occurs when a family member has been exposed to trauma and as a result exposes 'residues' of that trauma to other family members. The relationship between parents' silence surrounding their own unspoken trauma and the breakdown in family communication, a pattern in Camilla's story, is also one of the key findings emerging from other research on intergenerational trauma (Danieli, 1998b; Frankish & Bradbury, 2012; Hoffman, 2004; Weingarten, 2004; Wiseman et al., 2006). This conspiracy of silence in the family allows Camilla to distance herself from her mother's abuse and avoid the "horrible thought" that the perpetrator could be a family member or loved one (her grandfather), helping Camilla create an illusion of safety for herself.

Along the same lines, Hoffman (2004) argues that parents may also purposively close off discussions surrounding emotionally sensitive issues to prevent their children from finding out about their own trauma. This is evident in how Camilla describes her mother in the second interviewer as "...not a talker. She doesn't talk about her feelings or anything that's happened to

her. She's had a rough life so I can understand it.". In Frankish and Bradbury's (2012) research on intergenerational trauma amongst survivors of apartheid in an urban township in Durban, silence was found to be a conditioned and agentic choice rather than an unconscious denial. Parents consciously constructed their silence as protective and silence was used to protect children from the narratives of the violent past (Frankish & Bradbury, 2012). In this sense, Camilla's mother's silence may be seen as both protective for herself and her daughter, as well as representing a traumatic block. It is important to note that the act of silence is subject to many different possible interpretations and no one interpretation can be seen as 'right' or 'wrong', but instead offers us different ways of imagining and understanding the narrative.

In the excerpts below, Camilla speaks about how knowing about her mother's abuse has helped her understand her mother and how this knowledge has influenced her own life.

> It was only four years ago I found out. It explains a lot of her actions. It explains a lot of what she does. I think ja I would say it affects me because a lot of the time she just becomes crazy, like she becomes insane and you don't know why. Like a common saying in our house is mom's on her crazy pills again. So I'm affected by the way she brings me up in that way but at least now I know the reason behind it.
> (Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 2)

> ...I think the way she brought me up has affected me. Like John (Camilla's boyfriend) sometimes says I have the same crazy emotional things that my mom does and I don't see it and then he'll point it out and I'll think crap I'm turning into her.

(Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 2)

In the above excerpt, Camilla describes her mother's behaviour as sometimes "crazy" and "insane" and attributes this to the abuse that her mother suffered. She acknowledges that her mother's trauma has affected her because it has influenced the way that her mother raised her. Camilla characterises the knowledge about her mother's abuse as an enlightening moment because it allows her to frame and contextualise her mother's actions and their relationship as a whole. She uses her mother's experiences as a way to frame her own self-narrative and identity.

Similarly, to Camilla, Courtney's story is also characterised by the 'conspiracy of silence' characteristic of families experiencing trauma (Weingarten, 2004). Unlike Amanda and Saamiqa, Courtney and Camilla did not witness their mothers' abuse first-hand but learned about it through second-hand accounts from the women in their family and in Courtney's case her adoption file. Courtney is an 18-year-old, White woman, who is doing a degree in social work and lives in a university residence. In the first interview when we began to speak about her life, she spoke about how she was adopted and who her biological mother was.

My mother was 15 when she fell pregnant and she was 16 when she had me. Information about my father which I wasn't happy about it and I've actually taken it out. Um well according to the social worker my father was 44 and she was 15. He was the father of a friend of hers. She was sleeping over and he came and sexually assaulted her. My mom was angry that the social worker put that in because she didn't know she put it in because at the same time, my birth mother was in a serious relationship with a guy who was a year older than her.

> So she must have been 16 when she had me. My mom said they wanted to do a paternity test with me and my parents said no because they didn't want me to live with that over my head. Who my father was. My mom wanted the social worker to leave it out because it wasn't a big deal but everyone thought it was the older man.
>
> (Courtney, 18-year-old, White, Social work student, Interview 1)

Courtney positioned herself as a daughter throughout her narrative and in the excerpt above she discusses the 'conspiracy of silence' surrounding her own birth and how her adopted mother wanted to exclude the information in her file regarding her biological mother's rape and the possibility that her father may be the rapist. Courtney describes how her mother wanted to exclude her biological mother's "sexual assault" from her file because "it wasn't a big deal". This may represent how Courtney resists being constructed as a product of a rape and chooses to distance herself from this possibility, by downplaying it in her current narrative. The ambiguity and lack of information surrounding her biological mother's rape could represent an untold story for Courtney. Freeman (2009) draws on this concept of the 'narrative unconscious' which asserts that there are untold and unwritten stories that we are often not aware of, which form part of our own self-narratives in ways that are not consciously known to us. A possible interpretation is that this untold story of her biological mother's rape is woven into Courtney's self-narrative in ways she is possibly not aware of, demonstrating the power of the 'narrative unconscious' and its ability to inform identity.

Similarly, to Camilla, Courtney learns second-hand about the trauma her mother suffered and this "second-order autobiographical memory" has become part of her own memory and

history, bearing directly on her identity (Freeman, 2009, p. 111). Earlier on Camilla describes the abuse her mother suffered: “It was quite horrific hearing someone bashed your mother’s head against the wall because they were angry at her”, reflecting how Camilla imagines her mother’s abuse despite not witnessing it herself. It appears that both the images of Camilla’s mother’s head being “bashed ... against the wall” and Courtney’s biological mother being raped has become part of their own memory and self-understanding, although these women do not necessarily articulate how it has shaped their own sense of self.

Amanda, Saamiqa, Camilla and Courtney all position themselves as daughters and have strong narratives about mothering. Amanda and Saamiqa both grew up in homes characterised by domestic violence and discuss their problematic subject positioning as daughters and for Amanda, being both a daughter and a new mother. Amanda’s memories of witnessing domestic violence growing up have affected her decision-making regarding being a new mother, which has to an estrangement with both her parents. Saamiqa’s historical narrative of family violence centres on the stories of her mother, sisters, her own life and abusive men who appear and disappear. Saamiqa’s life story has been interspersed with abuse and instability and she positions her mother as a central but contradictory figure who has in some ways contributed to the victimisation of her children. Saamiqa has a heavy investment in constructing a positive relationship with her mother and links her own self-worth to the acceptance of her mother, grounding her subject positioning as a daughter. Camilla and Courtney did not witness the abuse their mothers suffered but learnt about it through second-hand accounts. Camilla’s primary subject position of daughter is constant throughout her narrative and her relationship with her mother is characterised by a ‘conspiracy of silence’, which is a prominent feature in

intergenerational trauma (Weingarten, 2004). Courtney's adoption story, in which she discusses the roles both her biological and adopted mother have played in her self-narrative, is interesting as it reveals the rape of her biological mother and the attempts of her adopted mother to silence this particular narrative of trauma, however this untold story still appears embedded in Courtney's narrative unconscious. It is clear from this discussion that these women's stories of the self are embedded in the communities that they belong to and the fabric of history, making the past narratives of other family members central to their identity (Freeman, 2009; MacIntyre, 1984).

5.3. Narratives of Learning to Fear Men

Both historical narratives of family violence and narratives of learning to fear men work together to construct women as fearful and vulnerable, producing a discourse of subordinate femininity. The narrative of learning to fear men position women from an early age as fearful and distrustful of men, ensuring that women begin positioning themselves in a continuous state of fear. Theorists argue that systems of patriarchy and gender-inequality work together to continuously remind women of their subordinate position in society from an early age (Gqola, 2007; Moffett, 2006, 2009). This is illustrated in Monica and Amanda's stories, who both recount early experiences from their childhood, which taught them to fear and distrust men.

Monica speaks about how she learnt to fear men when she was just seven years old. Monica is an 18-year-old, Black African woman who grew up in a township in the Eastern Cape. She tells the story of her first conscious memory of fear at the age of seven. She describes seeing her neighbour being raped and her mixed reaction of horror and confusion. Monica pinpoints this

memory as a significant turning point in her life, as this was when she learnt what 'rape' meant. In her recollection of the memory, Monica had just returned home from preschool and her lift club had dropped her off in front of her house. She describes what she saw in the excerpt below:

> This lady she was one of the house helpers on my street and she was running and there was this guy chasing her. He grabbed her on the lawn in front of my street and basically he wanted to rape her. He was taking off his pants and stuff. That was like (pause) looking back on it I didn't really understand what was happening at the time.
>
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Monica speaks about how she never understood why her mother tried to make her scared of men, until she was seven years old and witnessed her neighbour's rape. This poignant story highlights how the fear of rape may be seen as a taken-for-granted aspect of women's identity. Herman (1984) argues that women live their lives according to a 'rape schedule', in which their identities are formed around the fear of rape. Literature indicates that the fear of rape is constructed as integral to our identity as women (Campbell, 2002a; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly, 2013; Stanko, 1995; 1996; 2001; Valentine, 1989). However, unlike Monica, many women are unable to pinpoint the exact time they realised what rape was or meant. The fear of rape represents an unconscious force in our lives as women and we often forget that there was once a time that we did not know what the 'fear of rape' was or why we had to be scared of men. Monica explores this further in the excerpts below.

> I was about seven and I just didn't understand why was this happening and that was the first time that I think I was scared of a man because I just didn't understand why would you do that to somebody so that was like I think like my first conscious memory of fear.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> …I guess I carried that fear throughout my life.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> It's not healthy to walk around in fear that the next person that crosses you that for some reason looks slightly weird, lack of a better word, might attack you...
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

The excerpts above highlight the impact of the rape Monica witnessed at seven years old, and it appears that ever since then Monica has carried this fear. Monica's early narrative of fear has translated into an adult narrative of fear. Monica's narrative also highlights the pervasive and systemic fear that many women in South Africa experience as they live in a country characterised by high levels of gender-based violence, which authorities seem unable to adequately respond to (Du Toit, 2005; Knox & Monagham, 2003; Moffett, 2006).

Similarly, Amanda also recounted an early experience, which can be seen as further solidifying the fear of men in her life. She was 16 years old and a boy in her class at school tried to rape her.

> ...he locked me in a classroom after school and he was harassing me. I felt like he wanted to rape me. He was actually hurting me and saying, "I know you want this. We both know it." And things like that. I was running around. He would pull me on my dress and it got torn. The saddest thing was that my friend was there and he was a guy. And he was the one that actually closed the door and he was watching from outside and laughing. (Pause) And he didn't do anything to me but then when I left I was so traumatised and he was physically strong even though he was so short. He was my height and everything and then he said to me "One day I'm going to rape you". Like he didn't even disguise it or say "I know you want to have sex with me." He just said "One day I'm going to rape you". (Pause). It was so scary. It was very, very scary.
>
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Amanda approached the school about the incident and the principal decided to deal with the matter internally. However, her attacker was not punished and he continued to harass her during her years at high school. The betrayal by her male friend also may have solidified Amanda's fear of men and rape as her statement: "my friend was there and he was a guy", indicates that although he was her friend he was also a man, which may possibly indicate her early distrust of men. Research indicates that girls, like Amanda, who experience sexual harassment, have lower global, social and body esteem and these narratives of childhood sexual harassment contribute to the early socialization of female subordination (Murnen & Smolak, 2000). Amanda and Monica's stories serve as clear examples of the fear and threat of rape that many young women experience growing up in South Africa. However, Amanda's distrust of men was also rooted in her own historical narrative of family violence as well. When discussing

how her father physically abused her mother, Amanda states, “maybe it has to do like this whole thing with not trusting men”. Amanda identifies how growing up watching her father beat her mother has created a crisis of trust in her life, as she is constantly worried that her fiancé may one day abuse her.

> Even me in my relationship like I’m constantly looking at this guy (her fiancé) like he better not raise his hand at some point. He just wouldn’t. He shouldn’t.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

> I feel like with him (her fiancé) it was a struggle at first growing up in such an environment it was very hard for me to relate to him. Like I still kind of had my guard on, like you’re a man you’re just going to hurt me. You know? And whenever we’d be in an argument I’d think I’d be ready to get physical at some points, just waiting. If he hits me I’m hitting him back. I’m definitely not going to be hit again or anything.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Growing up in a home characterised by domestic violence has appeared to impact on Amanda’s adult development, in particular her difficulties with developing secure attachments and trusting others. There is substantial research on the adverse effects of children witnessing domestic abuse (Edleson, 1999a; 1999b; Groves, 2002; Hughes, 1988; Kilpatrick & Williams, 1998; Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003; Horn & Groves, 2006). Kaminer and Eagle (2010) argue that children’s early responses to trauma become entrenched and affect their ability to form secure and trusting relationships later on in adulthood. In the second excerpt Amanda

states, “growing up in such an environment it was very hard for me to relate to him”, indicating how growing up in an abusive context has created a sense of alienation in her social relationships. In the excerpt above Amanda says, “*I’m* definitely not going to be hit again or anything”. This statement appears to be contradictory as she states in the interviews that her father never hit her or her brother growing up. He only physically abused her mother and she also does not mention any abuse in her prior or current relationships although, she may have chosen not to disclose this to me. This ‘slip of the tongue’ may indicate how closely Amanda identifies with her mother’s trauma; even though her father never physically hit her, by the use of the personal pronoun ‘I’, she places herself as the direct victim in her story. This is indicative of how Amanda is beginning to see herself as the co-victim of her father’s abuse and is representative of the ongoing emotional conflict Amanda feels towards her own childhood and her relationship with her parents.

Amanda’s and Monica’s historical narratives of family violence and narratives of learning to fear men have constructed them as fearful, vulnerable and distrustful of men. These narratives of learning to fear men have also produced constructions of subordinate femininity in which women are conditioned to fear men.

5.4. Narratives of Fearing Public Spaces

The early narratives of historical family violence and learning to fear men appeared to impact on women’s adult development and translated into current narratives surrounding fear and the restricted use of public space. The presence of narratives of fearing public spaces amongst the women in the study is also indicative of the discourse of subordinate femininity and

wider gender-inequalities in society (Day, 2001; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989). Women's fear and restricted use of public space has been adequately documented in the western context, mostly situated in the North American, UK and Scandinavian context (Coakley, 2003; Day, 2001; Hollander, 2000, 2001, 2002; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995; Valentine, 1989). Although a few studies focus on the South African context (Bremner, 2004; Lemanski, 2004, 2006), more research in this area is needed in South Africa.

This study found similar trends to these studies as all of the women in the study situated their fear in public spaces and spoke about gender vulnerability and the gendered nature of freedom. Women in the study spoke about their fear of travelling alone in public spaces and the unspoken rule that women should not be alone in public spaces but should always travel in groups to protect themselves.

> So I think when I walk down the road with one of my girl friends I don't feel the same when I walk down the road with one of my guy friends. When I was younger it was absolutely safe to go for a run but now I'll never go for a run without a cell phone.
> (Taylor, 23-year-old, White, Drama student, Interview 1)

> I feel like we talk about how girls can't walk alone at night but guys can. I just feel scared all the time and guys don't.
> (Carrey, 23-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

> We're not held back in that sense but in like I think also when it comes to safety we are held back because like if for example if I'm driving late at night my dad will be like "No. You need to take somebody". But if it's my brother he'd obviously feel better about it because he's a boy and I'm a girl so I think when it comes to those kind of things we aren't given as much freedom as like other countries...
>
> (Sarisha, 21-year-old, Indian, Psychology student, Interview 1)

In the excerpts above these women link the fear of public spaces to gender, emphasizing the vulnerability women feel in public spaces and how men do not experience the same level of fear. Literature indicates that public spaces are constructed as masculine and women are afforded less rights to public spaces than men, which is an expression of the patriarchal relations and gender-inequalities in society (Day, 2001; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989; Yodanis, 2004). This is aligned with how the women in this study constructed public spaces and their emphasis on the masculine nature of public spaces in South Africa and the subsequent restriction of their freedom. In this respect freedom, itself appears to be gendered. It is also interesting to note that amidst this talk about the fear of public spaces and the restriction of freedom, there was considerable laughter.

> In Durban I would never walk in town even with my parents, ever. (Laughter)
>
> (Sarisha, 21-year-old, Indian, Psychology student, Interview 1)

> ...they had decided to move towards me and I don't want to see if they are wanting to come and talk to me. This girl's alone and she's a target situation. Plus if they wanted to flirt with me, I wasn't interested. (Laughter).
>
> (Natalie, 21-year-old, White, Environmental science student, Interview 1)

In the two excerpts above, both Natalie and Sarisha are discussing situations in which they feel unsafe. Natalie discusses how she was nearly attacked when she was alone in the street, emphasising the danger located in public spaces, a trend throughout this research. Laughter in this context offers various interpretations. Laughter can enable individuals, like Natalie and Sarisha, to disguise their resistance to difficult repressed material, deflecting feelings of anxiety and powerlessness and may accompany the dissociation of stressful experiences (Keltner & Bonanno, 1997; Martin, 2010). However, at times this may be adaptive, in that it can represent an effective coping mechanism when speaking about emotionally threatening topics or alternatively may indicate improved functioning and a positive shift in perception (Keltner & Bonanno, 1997; Martin, 2010). However, laughter was not present in all the women's accounts. Below is Sindiswa's narrative in which she described her own fear and lack of freedom.

> I would like to do stuff. Much for instance when I'm home I think it's very hot inside the house I'd like to sit outside but I don't sit outside because I know someone would come and hurt me. The effects of the daily life. You cannot even go to the shop at night to eat some chips because you know going to the shop at night is not safe for you as a girl but when my brother is in the same situation he just walks out the door and comes back and everything is fine with him.

(Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Sindiswa encapsulates this restriction of freedom when she explains how she feels like she cannot interact in public spaces in her hometown, which is a township near Cape Town, whilst her brother experiences more freedom because of the safety his gender affords him. However, being restricted by the fear generated from the prevalence of violence in society constitutes violence in itself (Kelly & Radford, 1996). This fear serves to restrict the identity of women, which Campbell (2002a) reinforces when she states, "The fear of what could happen limits the choices many women make in this culture" (p. 48). The fear of violence against women causes women to restrict their use of public space and this allows men to appropriate these spaces, reinforcing male dominance and systems of patriarchy (Koskela, 1999; Valentine, 1989). Theorists further argue that feeling unsafe in public spaces is a spatial expression of patriarchy and the individual use of space is not based on personal choice but is a product of social power relations and the gender-inequalities embedded in society, which keep women subordinate (Day, 2001; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989). South Africa is an example of a highly patriarchal society (Morrell, 2003; Morrell et al., 2012; Petersen et al., 2005), which is also notorious for unsafe public spaces and spatial exclusions (Bremner, 2004; Lemanski, 2004, 2006). Furthermore, gendered spatial exclusion, which hinges on patriarchal power relations and gender-inequalities, intends to remind women of their subordinate position in society (Gqola, 2007; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Pain, 2000). However, it is important to note that many men are also the subject of grievous public violence in South Africa as well and this study does not discount that. Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla and Ratele (2009) acknowledges this and states that the "dominant

feature of violence in South Africa is the disproportionate role of young men as perpetrators and victims" (p. 1012). For example, the highest homicide victimisation rates are seen in men aged between 15 and 29 years (184 per 100 000) and "the deaths of men from homicide outnumber those of women by more than 7:1" (Seedat et al., 2009, p. 1012). However, this study does not focus on the violence directed against men and instead focuses on the high levels of violence against women in South Africa. Therefore, it is relevant to emphasise how public spaces *are* gendered and position women as vulnerable in South Africa.

Charlotte in the excerpt below, who unlike Sindiswa, is from an upper middle-class background and her family lives in a wealthy area in Johannesburg, also emphasises how South Africa is characterised by unsafe public spaces and gendered spatial exclusions.

> I can't say I feel as free as you do in other parts of the world. When you're overseas you kind of have the sense of freedom because you can walk and kind do things and you're not restricted in the sense of crime and here I feel kind of restricted. You know with that. You're scared to do things.
>
> (Charlotte, 23-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above Charlotte emphasises how fear limits who you are as a woman, which was a common theme throughout this research regardless of the socio-economic background of the participant. Charlotte also constructs South Africa as unsafe and lacking freedom in comparison to countries 'overseas'. It is important to note that South Africa is not exceptional in this regard as there are many other places in the world, in which women are

violated and lack freedom and this study does not argue that South Africa is unique in that regard. However, this comparison emphasises the frustration Charlotte feels with South Africa and the lack of freedom and safety she experiences here. Sindiswa expands on this narrative of vulnerability in public spaces and speaks about how her own son, who was four years old at the time of the interview, is unable to play outside because of the strong narrative of fear in her community. In the excerpt below, Sindiswa explains how children in her hometown are targets for different types of violence and emphasises how both women and children of both genders experience the lack of safety in public spaces.

> Kids get lost we always have speakers going around asking if we've seen this child wearing this and that and that. That even made my grandmother like create a yard whereby she'll lock my son inside and let him play inside. Children get raped and thrown... there's this dam by my house, a few miles away where you can find girls in my age raped and thrown there. So things like that just scare me.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

The expression of fear in public spaces and spatial exclusions affect not only the women in this study but also how they raise their children and how their children interact with public spaces. The fear of child abduction and abuse are important concerns in Sindiswa's life, which further intensify her existing fear surrounding public spaces. However, despite the strong narratives of fearing public spaces and locating danger outside our own social worlds, the majority of violence against women still occurs in the private sphere (Dosekun, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2002; Pain, 1997; StatsSA, 2012; Vetten, 1997; Vogelman, 1990). This creates a spatial

paradox because in the majority of cases attackers are known to their victims and gender-based violence occurs in the victim or perpetrator's home (StatsSA, 2012), dispelling the notion that public spaces are the only 'high risk spaces' in South Africa. The narrative of the spatial paradox and the stranger danger discourse appears to be prevalent in South African discourse (Allen, 2002; Collins, 2013; Doeskun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Posel, 2005a), despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Studies suggest that an investment in the narrative of fearing public spaces and the discourse of 'stranger danger', may allow women to mitigate feeling of anxiety and distress, as they are able to 'other' violence from ever occurring in their own social worlds (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). This allows many women to feel they are gaining a degree of control in a fearful and anxiety-inducing context. Investing in such discourses moreover allows women to affirm the self because it allows them to protect themselves from vulnerable aspects and disown the aspects that are unmanageable or unbearable (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Soskolne, Stein, & Gibson, 2003). For example, locating danger in the family represents an unbearable aspect and women may split off this 'bad' trait and locate danger in public spaces and on strangers as a way to manage the anxiety represented by historical narratives of family violence (Hollway, 2006; Klein, 1988a, 1988b). These issues hinder an open discussion surrounding 'who the perpetrator really is' as most perpetrators are known to the victim and are often family members and partners, however public discourse traditionally positions danger with strangers.

The progression from historical narratives of family violence and early narratives of learning to fear men, to a narrative of fearing public spaces is interesting as it can be seen as a meta-narrative of how women are taught to fear male violence and occupy subordinate positions

in society. Women's narratives of fearing public spaces and the spatial exclusions women feel as a result of the overarching gender-inequalities in society restrict and limit women's choices and movements in society, ultimately creating and reinforcing subordinate identities for women.

5.5. Constructing Subordinate Femininity

The construction of subordinate femininity was embedded in the historical narratives of family violence, narratives of learning to fear men and narratives of fearing public spaces. Women in this study constructed femininity in South Africa as associated with fear, vulnerability and victimhood, ultimately constructing a discourse of subordinate femininity. In the excerpts below, three of the women in the study speak about what it means to be a woman in South Africa and highlight this social construction of women as fearful and vulnerable.

> Living as a woman in South Africa is a difficult thing because we don't see the hardships every day like there's just this caution constantly. You have to be alert all the time.
> (Nandipha, 20-year-old, Black African, French student, Interview 1)

> It's not safe for all of us. Rape is too high for us because people are not working... So we're not safe as women we're not safe at all.
> (Nomzamo, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> Well being a woman in South Africa is being a victim.
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

This construction of the female body as vulnerable and fearful is aligned with other research on the fear of violence, which indicates that the female body is constructed as vulnerable, subordinate and physically powerless in the face of male violence (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollander, 2000, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Valentine, 1989, 1997). It is important to note that the social construction of women as fearful and vulnerable is situated within the wider narrative of fear in post-apartheid South Africa, which is attributed to the high levels of sexual and violent crime in the country (Allen, 2002; Ballard, 2004; Bremner, 2004; Britton, 2006; Burton et al., 2004; Du Toit, 2005; Hamber, 2000; Lemanski, 2004, 2006; Møller, 2005; StatsSA, 2012). It is also important to explore the talk surrounding the intersection between race and women's identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Only two of the 14 White women in this study spoke about how they felt their identity as middle-class White women in post-apartheid South Africa put them at particular risk for violence.

> So I just feel as well that's another reason that I'm scared to like, why I take so many precautions to be safe because generally like people when they see a White girl. They assume power. She's more likely to have money than that chick over there. Let's go for her. Which is why I think there's been a few times where people have started approaching me. Rather than if like if there was someone else in the area that I couldn't see but they could. So ja so I think race does play a role in it as well.
>
> (Natalie, 21-year-old, White, Environmental science student, Interview 1)

> I don't like that feeling of being a target. It worries me. I don't like that feeling of being scared to go to other places but it's this weird balance of you are a target. You're a) a woman

> and b) a White woman which makes you more of a target. A prize to gain. Something. Anger. Disempowerment which is often the reason why ja anyway I being a woman in South Africa it's a funny balance.
>
> (Elizabeth, 21-year-old, White, History student, Interview 1)

Although it is not explicitly stated, the women in the excerpts appear to position Black men as preying on White women in South Africa. This may be attributed to participants' references to the interrelationship between race, unemployment, social inequality and disempowerment stemming from South Africa's history of apartheid and racial oppression, as Elizabeth and Natalie construct being White women in South Africa with power and affluence, which they argue makes them a target for crime. Research indicates that a racist discourse in which the perpetrator is imagined as Black and a stranger is popular amongst women in South Africa (Allen, 2002; Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Everitt-Penhale, 2013; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Posel, 2005b). This is also linked to South Africa's political history of apartheid and colonialism. These two women feel that their racial and socio-economic social categories of being white, middle class women do not protect them from violence but on the contrary place them at risk of violence. In this context these two women appear to be speaking about violence that occurs in the public domain and do not refer to their own experiences of violence. For example, Elizabeth locates danger in public spaces and imagines the 'Black perpetrator', however a family friend, who is also White and middle-class, sexually molested her as a child. Elizabeth's investment in this racialised discourse of the perpetrator as Black and a stranger may be seated in her resistance to confront her own childhood abuse. However, it may also be symptomatic of the racial history of oppression in South Africa and the widespread discourse of racism as a way of handling fear.

Regardless of the prevalence of public discourse surrounding race and perpetrators this study revealed that violence does not discriminate based on race or socio-economic class as participants from different racial groups, backgrounds and socio-economic classes shared stories of violence and abuse.

Another woman in the study, Monica, acknowledges the role that South Africa's racial history has and speaks about these "interlocking systems of domination- sex, race and class", which define the complex female experience in South Africa (Hooks, 1989, p. 21).

> ... from South Africa's racial history I guess being a woman will always be tied to what race you are so in a lot of ways yes you're a woman and you experience different things but the moment you attribute a specific race to it another set of stereotypes fall in and you fall prey to that or you fall victim to that and I think every experience for every South African woman by category of race will be different. The daily experiences of a White versus the daily experiences of a Black woman would be very different.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above, Monica reiterates the importance of race, acknowledging the diversity of women's experiences in South Africa. However, she does still acknowledge that these experiences differ along race lines.

The women in the study constructed femininity in South Africa as associated with narratives of distrust and social alienation. These narratives of distrust and social alienation

expressed how they felt they could not trust men and wider society. Jaclyn encapsulates these narratives of distrust and social alienation in her excerpt below.

> Ja I think we live in a world in distrust. We live in a world where we can't trust. Ja. I got a flat tyre on the weekend and this truck driver stopped and immediately on edge. Am I safe? And he was so nice. Automatically view nice, good-hearted strangers with suspicion. You know? Because you're so aware something bad could happen to you at any time. We view people with suspicion all the time. It's very tiring to constantly be on edge. Constantly being on edge or in fear. It doesn't go away.
>
> (Jaclyn, 22-year-old, White, Politics student, Interview 1)

Jaclyn's excerpt above highlights how narratives of fear and vulnerability also lead to a deep sense of social distrust. She acknowledges the "crisis of social trust" that has emerged in South Africa because of the prevalence and normalisation of violence against women in this country (Du Toit, 2005, p. 254). As a woman living in a chronically violent context, this leads to problems such as being unable to develop trusting relationships with others and build social capital (Adams, 2011). The question of: 'Who can you trust in this context?' was also asked by other women in the study.

> Makes me think how safe is our country? Who's the perpetrator? Who's the perpetrator? Whose that guy because sometimes it's people you are most definitely not expecting.
>
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

> I think it has affected, not directly but just knowing that every third guy can be abusive is really scary. Like I said that could be your future husband like seriously now. And now you will directly be affected by it which is scary.
>
> (Lindiwe, 21-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 2)

Amanda poses the question directly regarding who the perpetrator is and Lindiwe suggests that even your "future husband" could be abusive. Lindiwe and Amanda's excerpts echo the fear and distrust intrinsic in the other women's accounts. Despite an investment in a discourse of stranger danger, many of the women in the study still acknowledge that even their partners or individuals close to them could be the perpetrator, highlighting their contradictory investment in discourses. The construction of women as fearful and vulnerable, coupled with narratives of distrust and social alienation, show us how women's choices and movements in society are restricted by the fear of violence against women. Keeping women in a continuous state of fear and distrust positions women in a subordinate position in society, reinforcing men's status over women and entrenching gender-inequalities and patriarchy (Day, 2001; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly, 2013; Koskela, 1999; Stanko, 2001; Yodanis, 2004).

Two of the women in this study, who were survivors of sexual violence, also invested in this discourse of subordinate femininity through their investment in other discourses of self-stigmatization and victim-blaming. Monica and Valerie, both survivors of multiple rapes, speak about how they feel labelled by their experiences of sexual violence. As researchers, it is important to unpack self-stigmatization, instead of leaving it intact (Brown, 2013). This was

done both in the interview and analysis process. Monica speaks about when she was raped for the first time at 15 by her best friend's boyfriend.

> …I guess I became another statistic when I was raped as a woman experiencing violence in South Africa. And I've added to one of the many women that live their lives in fear and build prejudices against people based on simple things.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Above, Monica interprets her experience of rape in light of the many other South African women who have experienced sexual violence. Describing herself as 'another statistic' almost works to trivialise her experience as 'normal' or symbolic of a rite of passage for South African women, which reinforces the construction of women in South Africa as fearful, vulnerable and victims of male violence, further contributing to the construction of subordinate femininity in South Africa. Monica speaks about how being a rape survivor has become her identity in the excerpt below:

> You become that become that woman that was raped in stories. You don't become Monica the girl from wherever. You become Monica. Remember I told you she was raped? It becomes a title added to your name.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1).

Monica describes herself in the third person in the excerpt above indicating her own detachment and depersonalisation. Her choice of language distances herself from the immediate

reality of her own rape. Instead of referring to herself in the first person, she characterises herself as a character in a 'story' and describes how others are imposing this particular story on her identity. This can be seen in her statement "You become Monica. Remember I told you she was raped?". This statement reflects how she imagines others describe her identity and the sense of frustration and disappointment in this statement appeared quite tangible during the interview. The words: "becomes a title added to your name" describes how her fear and experiences of rape have almost overshadowed her identity.

Valerie is a 32-year-old, Black African woman, who was raped for the first time at 10 years old by a family member; gang raped when she was 15 years old and then gang raped again, when she was 17 years old. She speaks about the dehumanising nature of rape and the discourse of self-stigmatization.

> To such an extent that it didn't matter where I go or where I went I just thought like there was something that was written on my forehead. You either abuse her or you rape her.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Valerie describes her experiences of sexual violence as "something that was written on my forehead", emphasising how like Monica she feels branded by her experiences and internalises this stigma. A possible explanation for the investment in discourses of self-stigmatization and victim-blaming is that it may facilitate internal social control, mitigating feelings of distress (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997; Douglas, 1986). The discourses of self-stigmatization and victim-blaming, present in Valerie and Monica's narratives, work together to

produce a discourse of subordinate femininity, which conceals the agency and strength in these women's stories. However, both Monica and Valerie appear to feel their one story as rape survivors has become their only story. Nigerian novelist, feminist and literary icon, Chimamanda Adichie speaks about the danger of the single story in a TED Talk she gave in 2009. Adichie (2009) argues that power is the ability to tell the story of another person and to make the single story that person's defining story. Adichie (2009) states: "The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story." (p. 5). Both Monica and Valerie's frustration and disappointment may be seated in their discomfort with the single story of being a rape survivor, which they feel is being forced on them by others. This single story represents an incomplete narrative in Monica and Valerie's life because defining a woman solely in terms of her status as a rape survivor limits her agency as it conceals the many other stories embedded in her identity. Accessing multiple identities is important for rape survivors to protect themselves against stigmatization and enhance psychological well-being (Shih, 2004).

Structuring women's experiences within these dominant narratives of fear and vulnerability ensures that women are relegated to a subordinate position in society. Integral components of subordinate femininity that emerged during the interview process were the social construction of women as fearful, vulnerable and victims; narratives of distrust and alienation; and discourses of self-stigmatization and victim-blaming. However, it is not enough to explore the construction of subordinate femininity, without also exploring how women resist these subordinate identities. Foucault (1982) argues that we need to explore the different forms of resistance against different systems of power, as this represents the starting point in the

conversation of power and discourse. He also argues that in order to understand insanity; we must study sanity, similarly in order to understand violence we must explore how individuals resist violence (Foucault, 1982). The following section will explore how women resist these constructions of subordinate femininity, which is important because there is a need in research surrounding violence against women to explore the range of ways women resist and cope with their experiences (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Kelly, 2013).

5.6. Discourses of Resistance

The women in the study resisted the discourse of subordinate femininity embedded in the various narratives of family violence, learning to fear men and fearing public spaces, by positioning themselves in discourses of resistance. Typically, in psychoanalytic theory resistance is defined as being present in our lives "in order to prevent the conscious mind from becoming painfully aware of some unpleasant mental conflict" (Badcock, 1988, p. 107). However, 'resistance' is re-framed in this context as an act of gaining back power and standing up against violence and the men that perpetrate such violence (Wade, 1997). Parker (2004b) argues that exploring power and resistance in discourse allows us to illuminate how language maintains or challenges certain power relations. The links between language, power and resistance are integral in this interpretative analysis (Parker, 2004b). Wade (1997) explores this concept of resistance within the context of violence against women and states that:

> ...any mental or behavioural act through which a person attempts to expose, withstand, repel, stop, prevent, abstain from, strive against, impede, refuse to comply with, or oppose any form

> of violence or oppression (including any type of disrespect), or the conditions that make such acts possible, may be understood as a form of resistance.
> (p. 25).

The various acts of resistance that the women in this study exhibited will be explored to highlight the agency of these women. For example, Amanda discusses how she is resisting the historical narrative of family violence in her own self-narrative.

> Every time I tell this story it comes back over and over again but you know what I've decided it's a part of who I am and the cycle has to stop. It has to stop. For instance my mom also grew up in a family that was abusive. Her father was abusive towards her mother. I feel like I can't be in a relationship that's abusive. The cycle just has to break at one point.
> (Amanda, 23-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

Amanda states "Every time I tell this story it comes back over and over again", indicating how every time she speaks about her father's abuse she feels she is re-experiencing it. This is reinforced by her use of present tense when she discusses the abuse earlier in this chapter. She even states, "it's a part of who I am", recognising the impact that growing up in an abusive home has on her. Despite her construction of the cycle of violence in her family as natural and inevitable, she also discusses how she is actively resisting it and insists, "the cycle just has to break at one point". This act of resisting the historical narrative of family violence and acknowledging the affect that it has on your own story but also speaking out against it is also common across Camilla, Amanda, Simone and Saamiqa's narrative accounts. This oral tradition

of speaking about historical narratives of family violence can be seen as a way of reclaiming identity, resisting fear and breaking shame. Simone- who like Amanda- constructed a historical narrative of family violence, in which she witnessed her father physically abuse her mother, describes in the excerpt below her own act of resistance and attempt to stop the violence.

> I mean one (incident) being just before the stroke. I mean he wanted to hit my mother. I lunged forward but I put myself in the middle.
>
> (Simone, 18-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

By putting herself in the middle Simone is engaging in an act of resistance in which she is trying to prevent her mother from being abused (Wade, 1997). Simone fought back against the violence perpetrated against her mother and repositions herself in the narrative as powerful, not a defenceless child in an abusive home. Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk (2011) argue that constructing narratives of agency and resistance allow women to escape the shame attached to domestic violence by allowing them to make sense of the violence and their own negotiation of power. Acts of resistance, as seen in Simone's narrative in which she physically stepped in between her mother and father during a moment of violence, counteract the shame attached to growing up in a context of domestic violence. The women in this study have re-written their narratives by speaking about these acts of resistance, and as result re-position themselves as powerful and agentic individuals in their own stories.

Hollway (2011) argues that an individual's identity is formed through their positioning in discourses and similarly, the women in this study positioned themselves in discourses of

resistance as a way to construct themselves as powerful and agentic individuals, whilst simultaneously defending themselves against feelings of anxiety and powerlessness. Engaging in acts of resistance allows these women to construct empowered feminine subjectivities for themselves. It is in this way that these women are psychosocial subjects as they are "forged out of the realities and cultural meanings that are mediated by anxiety and desire" (Hollway, 2004, p. 12). For example, seven of the 27 women in this study were pursuing careers in social work and constructed this career choice as a way to resist victimisation and violence and to advocate for women's rights. Investing in discourses of resistance and empowerment allowed these women to create representations of themselves in which they were strong and capable, enabling them to create positive identities for themselves (Soskolne et al., 2003). In similar ways to the examples above, Saamiqa also speaks about how she resisted her own abuse and the historical narrative of family violence.

> It's not going to change my life that that guy touched under my sweater. He did it because he was a sick man. That's what I want my mommy to get, my sister to get. Those people that hurt you they are the sick ones. You're not the sick ones. Take back your power. Don't be the victim. That's why I'm fighting so hard. It's hard but just enjoy life because you're living today. I'm here with you now, Sarah. I'm not somewhere back then.
> (Saamiqa, 21-year-old, Coloured, Psychology student, Interview 2)

In Saamiqa's statement above she begins to direct blame and anger towards the perpetrators, challenging a discourse of victim-blaming. Drawing on a psychological discourse, she mentions the term 'sick' three times in the excerpt above, emphasizing the pathology of

abusive perpetrators. The use of the term 'sick' also redirects her anger and blame towards the perpetrator. This shift from a discourse of victim-blaming and internalized anger towards a discourse of resistance in the second interview is hopeful. Her statement above is empowering as she refuses to be the victim and speaks about how she is taking back her power and "fighting so hard". Saamiqa also situates her narrative in the present moment ("I'm here with you now, Sarah") as a means to emphasise that she has let go of the past. She states "I'm not somewhere back then", illustrating the disempowering effect of constructing her narrative in the past and instead chooses the active voice and present tense to characterize her story. Her investment in a discourse of resistance and empowerment helps her retain power in the face of a family history of abuse and poverty.

In response to the narratives of fear and spatial exclusion, four of the women in the study constructed narratives of resisting fear and reclaiming public spaces. In the excerpts below, Lindiwe and Franziska challenge the construction of subordinate femininity and speak about how they do not let the fear of violence restrict the choices they make and their movements in society.

> I've walked in the dodgiest places ever and I never feel scared like for some reason. You know why I feel that way I feel that person if you're scared of robbers or whatever they'll see it but if you just walk if you just walk they'll never come to you. They'll just think "How can this girl walk like that?". They'll never. I'm just that person. My friends tell me. Don't do that. You'll get robbed and if I get robbed it'll be my day but for now I'm just going to walk. I do get scared obviously. I just take the chance. Just go. Just go. Don't let robbers or thieves

> limit you because now you're going to say "I can't walk to whatever I'm afraid I might get robbed". Just go. If you get robbed, you get robbed.
> (Lindiwe, 21-year-old, Black African, Medical student, Interview 1)

> I had some scary encounters in the beginning because I'm quite reckless. I don't know. I have that thing inside of me. People tell you not to walk in the dark or do that at night. And it's so ridiculous for someone to tell you not to walk after dark or to take a cab when you live 5 minutes away.
> (Franziska, 22-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

Lindiwe and Franziska's excerpts above demonstrate narratives of resisting fear as they actively talk about how they are reclaiming public spaces by choosing to walk late at night or alone despite their own fears. Research in the western context, in the US (Hollander, 2002), Finland (Koskela, 1997, 1999) and Scotland (Mehta, 1999) also found that despite strong narratives of fear women tried to actively reclaim public spaces by positioning themselves in discourses of resistance. This discourse of resistance and narrative of reclaiming public spaces challenge the construction of women as fearful and vulnerable, allowing women to create more empowered subjectivities for themselves (Hollander, 2002; Mama, 1995). In the excerpts below Phelisa and Valerie both describe instances in which they were nearly robbed and their acts of resistance.

> At Joburg there was guy he was like "Give me your phone. Give me your phone". I just turned around and screamed at his face "Are you fucking kidding me? You want to take my

phone in front of everybody?". Because it was in a public place but if I was alone this guy would have taken my phone and gone.

(Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

...this guy was walking towards me and he showed me a knife and he told me I must give him my phone. I got so irritated because I wasn't carrying my phone with my hands and I had no earphones in my head that could be a symbol I have a phone with me. Although I have a phone in my bag but I got so irritated. To such an extent that I was thinking "What did I do to you that got you to ask me for my phone?". On that day I just stood up for myself and I said "You did not give me a phone and I have no phone to give you". And I crossed the road and I walked away. And when I got home my sister was so angry at me asking "What if the guy had stabbed you? What were you going to do? You could have just given the guy your phone." I don't know.

(Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

These two women's stories of confronting their muggers and resisting their attacks are powerful, as they highlight the strength of these women and their efforts to reclaim their public space. Speaking about instances in their lives in which they were not fearful are integral to these narratives of resisting violence and this trend is aligned with other research on the fear of violence (Hollander, 2002; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Mehta, 1999). Actively speaking about acts of resistances allows the women in the study to construct counter-stories. Developing counter-stories by positioning oneself in discourses of resistance allows women to both resist the discourse of subordinate femininity and move away from the social construction of women as

fearful and vulnerable (Hollander, 2002; Mama, 1995). These counter-stories can be seen as a way for these women to construct themselves as survivors and not victims, allowing them to reclaim agency (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). Through identifying these acts of resistance, we are able to create more empowered subjectivities for women, highlighting the agency and strength of the women in the study as opposed to just constructing them as victims of patriarchy (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Wade, 1997).

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter explored how subordinate femininity is produced through historical narratives of family violence, early narratives of fearing men, current narratives of fearing public spaces and spatial exclusions. The women discussed in this chapter drew on past narratives of female family members and their own early memories to tell their self-narratives, weaving together parts of the past to understand who they are in the present. This process of reflection and retrospection is encapsulated in one of Kierkegaard's most famous quotes: "life must be understood backwards…it must be lived forward" (Crites, 1986, p. 165). The social construction of women as fearful and vulnerable was examined, as well as narratives of distrust and discourses of self-stigmatization and victim-blaming, which are all integral parts of the discourse of subordinate femininity. Importantly, this chapter also identified the acts of resistance in women's narratives and how they resist the discourse of subordinate femininity. The following chapter explores the discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PRODUCTION OF SUBORDINATE FEMININITY: DISCOURSES OF FEMININE SELF-REGULATION AND TRANSGRESSION

6.1. Introduction

Narratives of family violence, learning to fear men and fearing public spaces work together to produce a discourse of subordinate femininity. Discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression furthermore ensure that this discourse of subordinate femininity remains prevalent in society. This chapter explores the discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression, focusing on how women constantly self-regulate and control their choices and movements in society in an effort to avoid violence and stay 'safe'. This constant self-regulation and surveillance is underpinned by wider systems of patriarchy and gender-inequality, ultimately undermining the agency of women and creating a discourse of subordinate femininity. Women who transgress discourses of subordinate femininity are punished by their community through various means. However, women also resist the discourse of subordinate femininity and these acts of resistance are embedded in the discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. By exploring these discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression, this chapter addresses the research questions central to this study, namely how women are affected by living in a society where violence against women is prevalent and tolerated; and the psychological (psychosocial) impact it has on them.

6.2. Discourse of Feminine Self-Regulation

6.2.1. Exploring the Victim-Blaming Discourse

In this study, women invested in a discourse of feminine self-regulation, this entailed positioning themselves as actively responsible for avoiding the violence perpetrated against them and self-regulating accordingly by constructing precautionary strategies. An investment in a discourse of feminine self-regulation can be seen as a response to the narratives of historical family violence, fear and vulnerability explored in the previous chapter. These produced a discourse of subordinate femininity, in which women in South Africa are constructed as fearful, vulnerable and victims. An investment in the discourse of feminine self-regulation may be seen as a reaction to this social construction of women in South Africa. It represents an imagined sense of security for women, because it allows them a way to reclaim power and control in a seemingly out-of-control and anxiety-inducing context (Campbell, 2002a; Stanko, 1996). However, whilst it may give them a sense of safety and control, women who invest in a discourse of feminine self-regulation may (unknowingly) position themselves in a discourse of victim-blaming as they begin to assume responsibility for the violence perpetrated against them (Campbell, 2002a; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Stanko, 1996). Excerpts from Monica, Lesley and Nandipha's narrative accounts will be explored in this section, to illustrate the discourse of victim-blaming embedded in the discourse of feminine self-regulation. In the excerpt below, Monica's grandmother's warning locates the responsibility of avoiding violence with Monica, ("… *you'll get yourself raped*").

> ...but I always heard my granny saying that you need to be careful you'll get yourself raped and stuff like that.

(Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

It is important to note that Monica was raped for the first time when she was 15 and the second time when she was 16. This warning from her grandmother may have contributed to the feelings of self-stigmatization and self-blame that Monica spoke about during the interviews. Campbell (2002a, p.49) foregrounds the ridiculous nature of the victim-blaming discourse when she states "victims don't cause rape; rapists cause rape". Likewise, Feltey (2004) compares expecting women to be responsible for avoiding sexual violence as the same as advising people not to drive because they may encounter drunk drivers. Monica's investment in a victim-blaming discourse can be seen in another excerpt below, in which she describes how she began to believe the justifications her rapist gave her.

> I don't wear shorts or skirts anymore. The first guy that raped me said he did it because I'm always wearing shorts and he knows I was doing it to show him my legs. At first it didn't get to me but now it does.
>
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Monica's recounting of her perpetrator's 'rationale' simultaneously reinforces a victim-blaming discourse, as well as highlighting the male sex drive discourse (Hollway, 1984, 1989). The male sex drive discourse constructs men as possessing a powerful biological sex drive (Hollway, 1984, 1989). Men are considered to 'need' sex and are therefore viewed as not entirely to blame for their actions to satisfy this 'need'. A rape victim that was provocatively dressed at the time of the attack may be considered within this discourse to have 'triggered' her attack

(Burr, 1995). For example, in the excerpt above Monica's rapist claims that he raped her because she was always wearing shorts and she intended to show off her legs. This 'provocative' behaviour was argued to have provoked him into raping her. The male sex drive discourse dictates that women are expected to be responsible for avoiding rape by controlling how they dress and avoiding other 'inappropriate' behaviour (Hollway, 1984, 1989). Women may invest in the discourse of feminine self-regulation, which corresponds to the male sex drive discourse, in order to feel safe and retain a level of agency. However, discourses of victim-blaming are also dangerously concealed in these discourses and are counterproductive to the struggle against gender-based violence (Campbell, 2002a; Stanko, 1996).

In the excerpt below, Monica begins to question her own motivations behind the clothing she chose to wear, possibly internalising the idea that she was responsible for her own victimisation.

> Monica: Why was I wearing shorts? What was my actual intention? What was I thinking when I used to put them on in the morning? I'd put shorts on then and then I couldn't find an answer so I decided why do it?
> Interviewer: And when did that start? A couple of years ago?
> Monica: About a year and a half ago.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above, Monica asks, "What was my *actual* intention?" demonstrating how she is actively questioning the role she played in her own rape. This could also be an indication

of self-blame and uncertainty, which Brown (2013) reveals are common features of women's trauma stories. Investing in a victim-blaming discourse may also possibly allow Monica to feel that she has some control over her frightening situation (Brown, 2013). Monica stopped wearing shorts after the first rape and consciously polices the way she dresses, illustrating how a discourse of victim-blaming leads to the ongoing monitoring of the self (Brown, 2013; Foucault, 1978). Women are constantly encouraged to be vigilant about their sexual safety and this constant self-surveillance is constructed as integral to women's identity (Campbell, 2002a; Gavey, 2005; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Gordon & Riger, 1991; Kelly, 2013; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989). Constant self-surveillance and self-regulation leads to women restricting their choices and movements in society. This reinforces the subordination of women because it shifts the blame and responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim. Gqola (2007) recognises this discourse of feminine self-regulation and argues that in South Africa women are told "you better make yourself seem safe in order to be safe — stay at home, participate in the cult of femininity, give in to unwanted sexual advances, surrender many choices, make yourselves as small, quiet and invisible as possible" (p. 121). Dominant discourse reinforces this 'cult of femininity' in safety campaigns and discourse surrounding sexual safety suggests women should restrict their movements in society, as well as the clothing they wear in order to avoid violence.

At face value it appears Monica is purely reproducing discourses of victim-blaming and the 'cult of femininity' in South Africa. To some degree this may be the case, however it is also important to recognise that dominant narratives also fail the storyteller, because it often does not allow women to talk about sexual violence without invoking blame (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-

Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). Monica may be trying to negotiate the discursive complexities of her own experience of rape and express the binary of "seeing 'one's role in the rape versus not blaming oneself", (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011, p. 13), yet the impact of the dominant narratives does not allow her to do this without also positioning her in a victim-blaming discourse. De Vault (1990) argues that the language that women use to discuss their experiences is infused with dominant hegemonic patriarchal discourse and we need to "develop method(s) for listening around and beyond words" (p. 99). Therefore, it is important that we do not mistake this talk surrounding negotiating one's own experience of rape with purely a victim-blaming discourse and as researchers; we try to listen around and beyond the words of survivors, to find the other counter-stories embedded in their narratives (Brown, 2013; De Vault, 1990; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011)

Lesley and Nandipha also draw on discourses of victim-blaming and speak about how women 'contribute' to the violence perpetrated against them, as demonstrated in the excerpts below. The experiences of Lesley and Nandipha differ from Monica as they have never had any direct experiences of victimisation. Thus unlike Monica who has experienced the trauma of sexual violence personally, Lesley and Nandipha cannot draw on their own insight as survivors of sexual violence. In the two excerpts below, Lesley speaks about how she felt looking at a picture of a rapper and the women around him.

> ...this R&B and rapper guy and there were all these girls around him dressed in really skimpy clothing.
>
> (Lesley, 19-year-old, White, English student, Interview 2)

> I felt really irritated because there're all these really bad things that happen to women that women would do to other women. Like sexual abuse. There are other women that put themselves out as sexual objects and it makes me really angry because it makes the victims like men get confused and they see women like that and they think it's okay they see women like that and maybe it's okay for them to be objects.
> (Lesley, 19-year-old, White, English student, Interview 2)

In the excerpt above Lesley refers to men as "victims" and places blame on women for wearing "skimpy" clothes, invoking the male sex drive discourse and a victim-blaming discourse. As discussed, according to the male sex drive discourse, women who wear 'skimpy' clothes are sexual objects that provoke the powerful biological male sex drive into a violent response (Hollway, 1984, 1989; Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). Such women are seen as deserving of their victimhood, whilst men's violent actions are constructed as a 'natural masculine response' (Hollway, 1984, 1989; Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). The male sex drive and victim-blaming discourses work together to position women as responsible for avoiding violence. Women are expected to regulate their behaviour by dressing modestly, in order to avoid arousing the powerful and uncontrollable male sex drive. For the women in the study who are survivors of sexual violence, discussions about clothing choice at the time of their attack frequently emerged in their talk about their own victimisation, indicating similar investments in the male sex drive discourse and the victim-blaming discourses. Lesley's talk about men as confused victims similarly invokes discourses which reinforce the silencing of sexual violence and the shaming of victims.

Similarly, to Lesley, Nandipha also constructs a story, which casts the man as the 'victim' and the young girl as provoking 'sexual attention/violence'. In the excerpts below, Nandipha speaks about an incident in her high school in which one of her female class-mates had 'sex' with one of the male teachers. Despite the significant age gap and the criminal implications of statutory rape, Nandipha still asserts that the 'sex' was mutual and in fact was initiated by her female class-mate, despite her class-mate's own assertions that it was rape.

> I know that a friend of mine in that grade had slept with the PE teacher and then she had said that he had raped her when it wasn't true. I guess it would be statutory rape but she initiated it. They were having mutual sex. That was my point. Yes that guy is a creep for having sex (laughing) with a 15 year old. That is disgusting. At the same time why is a 15 year old going to look for older men or that? Why is that entire situation happening? It should not be happening from either side.
> (Nandipha, 20-year-old, Black African, Psychology student, Interview 2)

> Because the teacher was in his 20's. Not even 20's like middle to 30's. And she was 13, 14. That shouldn't be happening. Like I do understand that as females we tend to be more mature than our male counterparts. At the same time then wait till you're 20 when you're older and you have a bit more life experience and know how men are. How life is in general. When you're 15 you just hit puberty yesterday and you're sleeping with a full grown man. I can't understand that. No. That's wrong. I would not feel happy if I had a daughter and she's 13 and

he's 30. I would be like why are you with a 30 year old? You know? (Laughing). Like doesn't make sense in my mind at all.

(Nandipha, 20-year-old, Black African, Psychology student, Interview 2)

I guess you find those girls that do like attention.

(Nandipha, 20-year-old, Black African, Psychology student, Interview 2)

In the three excerpts above, Nandipha speaks about how her class-mate had a 'sexual' relationship with her male teacher. However, she states that her classmate was 15 and at a later point in the interview claims that in fact she was 13 or 14, whereas the teacher was in his 30's. Despite the significant age gap and the implications for child sexual abuse and statutory rape, Nandipha continues to place blame on the young girl. She uses the term "mutual sex" and chooses to reject the notion that this was in fact statutory rape. This is highlighted through her statements: "At the same time why is a 15 year old going to look for older men or that? Why is that entire situation happening?". These imply that this young girl sought out this sexual attention and was responsible for the abuse. Nandipha uses women's perceived maturity in comparison to men to justify her discourse of victim-blaming. She also uses mutualising language throughout this story for the same purpose and implies that if her female class-mate had "waited" then the abuse would not have occurred. She states in reference to this class-mate that, "you find those girls that do like attention", further emphasising her investment in the discourse of victim-blaming.

Both Lesley and Nandipha invest in a discourse of victim-blaming because it may make them feel safer and help defend against feelings of anxiety (Brown, 2013; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). It can be postulated that an investment in this discourse of feminine self-regulation in which women are positioned as responsible for avoiding violence, can be linked to an attempt to manage the anxiety and fear surrounding violence against women (Brown, 2013; Campbell, 2002a; Stanko, 1996, 2001). The subsequent investment in a discourse of victim-blaming is linked to how individuals (consciously or unconsciously) strive to suppress subject positions that threaten to deprive them of power and defensively project these suppressed feelings onto the 'other', in this context, the victim (Hollway, 1989, 2001). Throughout Lesley's narrative, she mentions multiple stories in which she has been anxious or fearful. This may indicate why she invests in a victim-blaming discourse. Conversely, Nandipha's narrative includes few stories surrounding fear and therefore, unlike Lesley I cannot argue how her investment in a victim-blaming discourse may be motivated by her fear and anxiety surrounding violence against women. Alternatively, her story regarding the statutory rape of her class-mate may represent a similar binary to Monica, in which Nandipha is trying to explore "seeing 'one's role in the rape versus not blaming oneself" (McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011, p. 13). Nandipha may be trying to understand the experience of her class-mate, yet dominant discourse does not provide the language framework for her to work through these experiences, without invoking a discourse of victim-blaming (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011).

6.2.2. Constructing Precautionary Strategies

The discourse of feminine self-regulation positions women as responsible for avoiding violence and they begin to engage in constant self-regulation and surveillance by constructing

precautionary strategies to ‘protect’ themselves against potential violence. As mentioned in the literature review, these discourses of responsibility and self-regulation, in which women construct precautionary strategies to avoid violence, have been well documented in research in the UK, US and Europe (Campbell, 2002a; Coakley, 2003; Hollander, 2001, 2002; Huff, 1997; Koskela, 1999; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004). However, few studies focusing on the South African context have been undertaken (Doeskun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013), highlighting the need for more research like this study. Campbell (2002a) argues that, as women, we want to believe that the ‘rules’ embedded in these precautionary strategies, will protect us, and we begin learning these rules as little girls. Precautionary strategies are so embedded in the early socialisation of women that these strategies are constructed as a taken-for-granted aspect of a woman's identity (Campbell, 2002a). However, precautionary strategies create an “illusion of safety” (Campbell, 2002a, p. 50), as women cannot control whether they are raped or attacked.

The primary precautionary strategy amongst the women in this study appeared to be regulating how one dresses to avoid ‘unwanted attention’, and possibly violence. In earlier excerpts, Monica speaks about how she doesn’t wear short skirts or shorts anymore. She polices how she dresses as a precaution to avoid violence, as a result of her rapist’s claim that her choice of clothing provoked his attack. In the excerpt below, she speaks about another incident, in which she constructs her choice of clothing as putting her at risk of violence.

> In Johannesburg, I don't know if you heard about it but a few years back they had the whole taxi drivers attacking women in short skirts.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> And unfortunately on the very day that it happened I was in town wearing shorts with mom and my mom just told me to run to the car so nothing happened to me so to think that my day of shopping was messed up because of a group of men and their beliefs and their feelings, regardless of how it made me feel. How it infringed on my space or my safety and that's what South Africans have to deal with it. It has affected my life and I believe it will continue to affect my life.
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Over the last seven years, there have been reports of 'miniskirt attacks' in South Africa, in which women are attacked and sometimes raped with the justification being that they produced such attacks through their choice of clothing (Makoni, 2011; Mhlana, 2008; Vincent, 2008b; Williams, 2008). Monica is referring to the incident in 2008 when a Black African woman, who was wearing a miniskirt, was stripped, doused with alcohol and sexually assaulted by taxi drivers in the Noord Street taxi rank in Johannesburg (Vincent, 2008b). The act of Black African women adopting western dress such as miniskirts or pants may symbolize colonial intrusion and moral degeneration, which may incite violence as men often take on a 'guardian role' in which they feel 'obligated' to police the behaviour of women (Makoni, 2011; Vincent, 2008b). In the interviews, Monica speaks about how she polices her own behaviour and the way she dresses because of the beliefs and feelings of groups of men in society, invoking the male sex

drive discourse and a victim-blaming discourse. However, Monica's talk may also be exploring the binary between agency and blame. Similarly, Sindiswa and Nandipha also illustrate how women negotiate both agency and blame in their discussion about sexual safety in the excerpts below. They highlight how dominant narrative often fails to capture the discursive complexities implicit in discourse surrounding the sexual safety of women (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011).

> It's very affecting because it determines how you live your life and it changes how you are. It changes the 'comfortability' you have in you because as a girl I become comfortable wearing short skirts at times but maybe with this rape I think I should stop exposing myself. I should be wearing something that is on my knee.
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> And I feel like if you want to wear that then you should wear that but then why would you? People are going to call at you. You know? Even taxi drivers. Random men. They whistle and call at you. Why? You don't know me so why are you calling my name like a dog?
> (Nandipha, 20-year-old, Black African, French student, Interview 2)

In the excerpts above, both Nandipha and Sindiswa speak about how they are comfortable wearing short skirts and believe that they should be able to wear what they want, however they raise concerns regarding the violence that these choices may provoke. Monica, Nandipha and Sindiswa highlight how adopting strategies such as controlling how one dress-represent a 'necessary evil' in South Africa, because of its violent and volatile culture towards

women. Whilst talk may be interpreted as evidence of a discourse of victim-blaming, it also represents how women are trying to both reject blame and seek agency, yet lack adequate narratives to articulate this experience (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). This represents "tightrope talk", in which women construct themselves as both agents and patients, both responsible and not responsible for sexual violence (McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011, p. 65). It is important to recognise this when discussing the discourse of feminine self-regulation and not to undermine women's work towards agency by solely positioning them in a discourse of victim-blaming (McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011).

In terms of the construction of precautionary strategies, four of the women in the study constructed men as protectors and sought out boyfriends and male friends to protect themselves. This is also a trend in other research (Gordon, 2009; Hollander, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004).

> I have a lot of close guy friends so if I'm with them I feel comfortable and often they suss out other guys.
>
> (Alicia, 18-year-old, White, Social work student, Interview 1)

> When you're walking around as a woman you do not feel safe. You only feel safe when you're walking around with a man with you.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

She (Camilla's mom) prefers me going out with my boyfriend. I also prefer going out with my boyfriend because I feel safer when he's around.

(Camilla, 26-year-old, White, History student, Interview 2)

When we go out we try to get a couple of guys to go with us.

(Nadeera, 21-year-old, Indian, Psychology student, Interview 1)

Three of the women in the study also spoke about carrying defence spray as a precautionary strategy; however, none of the women in the study has ever used their defence spray.

I used to carry around pepper spray but I don't know how to use it. I would probably use it on myself.

(Jaclyn, 22-year-old, White, Politics student, Interview 1)

One of my friends has pepper spray. She just keeps it in her bag. When we're together it makes us safer.

(Nadeera, 21-year old, Indian, Psychology student, Interview 1)

I sort of just like beforehand if I know that if I'm walking in a dodgy area or its dark I sort of just try and make a plan to, a plan to with friends to walk back with me or I plan to have something like pepper spray with me.

(Natalie, 21-year-old, White, Environmental science student, Interview 1)

Monica chooses a more extreme weapon of self-defence in the excerpt below, in which she talks about buying a gun.

> What's strange is that I always have dreams about fighting back and taking a stand. I don't want to be weak and I don't want to let someone have advantage or power over me. I spoke to my mom about it and my boyfriend and I are actually going for shooting training and I'm buying a gun.
>
> (Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above Monica speaks about how she wants to fight back and take a stand, which is symbolised in her choice to buy a gun, however, in the second interview she expresses reservations regarding whether she should buy a gun. Monica's excerpt illustrates how although precautionary strategies can be seen as undermining women's agency, they also represent a form of resistance against an ongoing narrative of fear. This is expressed when Monica speaks about how she "dreams about taking a stand and fighting back". Foucault (1982, p. 780) describes resistance as the "chemical catalyst" that brings to light power relations, locates their position, and finds out their point of application and the methods used. Exploring these precautionary strategies allows us to explore women's resistance, and exposes the patriarchal power relations in society that constrain the movements and behaviours of women. This can be seen in Monica's excerpt below, in which she discusses how her behaviour has changed since the second time she was raped, and other precautionary strategies and behaviours she has restricted in an effort to avoid violence.

Interviewer: Are there any other things that you've changed?

Monica: The people I hang out with. I don't drink and I don't smoke so I avoid people that drink and smoke. The places I hang out in, I don't club. I go to bars but like to have a meal, soda. I don't really go out.

(Monica, 18-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above, Monica's discussion of her precautionary strategies shows us how the fear of violence has severely restricted her daily life. It is in this way that precautionary strategies represent both an attempt to undermine and establish agency because they are both methods of social control and acts of resistance (Campbell, 2002a; Stanko, 1996, 2001). Additionally, within this discourse of feminine self-regulation, women who are attacked may blame themselves for not following the rules embedded in precautionary strategies 'correctly'. Stanko (1996) argues that when women miss the signs of potentially dangerous sexual encounters they are criticised, and states "women are considered cultural dopes if we miss the cues which, as women, we are expected to *know* simply because we are women" (p. 56-7). Because of the widespread nature of these discourses of victim-blaming, locating violence and the prevention thereof as women's responsibility, many victims of sexual violence face secondary traumatisation and a lack of adequate support from those around them. This is reflected in the excerpt below, in which Valerie, who has been raped numerous times, speaks about the stigma related to rape and how "some people" may even blame her for provoking the attack.

> And I didn't even share it with my friends because I was kind of embarrassed with the stigma that comes with being a rape victim because at the end of the day some people they think that you have been raped because you have asked for it...
>
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Valerie is positioned as responsible for avoiding violence and within the discourse of feminine self-regulation; her own rapes are symbolic of her 'failure' to successfully avoid violence. This may contribute to the shame and stigma she feels regarding her own experiences of sexual violence. Similarly, in the excerpts below Franziska speaks about her own experiences of sexual violence, and how her peers blamed her for 'her role' in the attack. Franziska speaks about how a security guard at a music festival in Cape Town tried to rape her, and her friends' unsupportive treatment.

> One of these security guards was hugging me and chatting to me and was telling me he needs to find a wife. Then pulled me into a corner and tried to rape me basically.
>
> (Franziska, 22-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

After this incident, Franziska found her friends at the festival and told them about the attack. She describes their reactions below.

> It seemed like they were so used to those stories that it was nothing. They were like "Well nothing happened right?" I was like ja nothing happened eventually but still it's shocking for me. It was like, I was a bit shocked and it felt like they didn't even acknowledge it.

(Franziska, 22-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

I felt like, I felt it was quite demeaning and I felt lost because I expected them to care, hug me, talk to me, listen to me, just be there. One friend of mine she almost seemed angry about me making a big deal of it when I said but it's still kind of a scary experience. She was like "It happens to all of us" and "Why did you go to the bathroom alone and why didn't you take one of us with you?". It almost seemed like she was (pause) she sounded like she was blaming me for it.

(Franziska, 22-year-old, White, Psychology student, Interview 1)

In the excerpts above Franziska illustrates how her friends' comments served to minimise her traumatic experience. The victim-blaming tone of her friends' comments are self evident and she describes one of her friends as 'angry' with her for not following one of the unspoken rules embedded in precautionary strategies, i.e. not going anywhere unaccompanied (including going to the toilet without a companion). Franziska is cast as responsible for her own victimisation because she was not 'cautious' enough. Similarly, Valerie also speaks about the association between not following these rules 'correctly', and being a victim of sexual violence.

I would understand somebody who said that I have been raped because I was wearing something short. I wasn't wearing something short. To me it's like you're wearing something short you're asking for rape. You're not wearing something short you get raped anyway then what is it?

(Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Within the discourse of feminine self-regulation, if Valerie and Franziska were both victims of violence, then it must be because they violated the unspoken rules inherent in the precautionary strategies that every woman is expected to follow. Franziska is constructed as a 'cultural dope' by her friends for not identifying the cues of sexual violence (Stanko, 1996), whilst Valerie, despite following the rules embedded in the precautionary strategies was still victimised. These examples highlight the contradictory nature of the discourse of feminine-self regulation, and "the illusion of safety" it creates (Campbell, 2002a, p. 50).

6.2.3. Transforming Precautionary Strategies into Acts of Resistance: Constructing a Counter-Story

Audre Lorde (1984), the poet, encapsulates the problematic nature of dominant discourse in capturing women's experiences in her statement: "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." (p. 110). Dominant discourse fails to capture the complex experience of how women negotiate sexual violence in a dangerous context such as South Africa. Women are forced to draw on dominant narratives, but these narratives do not accurately depict their story, as they typically reflect male experience (Brown, 2013; De Vault, 1990; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). Hegemonic discourse, embedded in dominant narratives, does not accurately represent women's experiences. Rather it individualizes and depoliticizes women's stories (McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). As researchers, we need listen to not only the dominant story but also the "other interpretations and experiences that live outside the dominant story", to find the counter-stories embedded in women's narrative accounts (Brown, 2013, p. 23; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). Discourse surrounding the construction of precautionary

strategies is complex. On a surface level, it appears to only enforce victim-blaming. However, research suggests that precautionary strategies may also represent acts of resistance (Hollander, 2002; Wade, 1997). Valerie's story below will be explored to illustrate how counter-stories are embedded in women's narrative accounts and how precautionary strategies can represent acts of resistance and agency.

Valerie is a 32-year-old, Black African woman, who is doing a degree in social work. She grew up in a rural township in the Eastern Cape with her mother. Her mother was an alcoholic, who passed away when Valerie was 23 years old. Valerie has never met her father and was raped numerous times growing up. A family member raped her for the first time at 10 years old but, in the interviews, she never specifies who the perpetrator was. A group of young men raped her for the second time at 15 in her community. She claims that they raped her because they thought she was a virgin (not knowing about her previous rape), and wanted to get rid of their bad luck acquired through *initiation*. *Initiation* or *ulwaluko* in Xhosa, is a tradition in Xhosa culture, which is typically seen as a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood, in which young men are meant to be taught non-violence and respect (Ntombana, 2009; Vincent, 2008a). However, reports have emerged that these young men are taught by their *ikhankatha* (traditional guardian) that having sex with women that are not their girlfriends or are virgins will rid them of the bad luck they acquire during initiation (Ntombana, 2009). Valerie was raped for the third time when she was 17, and positioned this event as central to her narrative. She was gang raped by a "group of friends", and these rapes continued for nearly a year.

> But then when I was 17 I was gang raped by a group of friends because I didn't have a boyfriend and I had no intentions of having a boyfriend.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1).

Valerie's description of her rape reflects the discourse of feminine transgression, in which men try to police the sexuality of women and women are punished if they transgress from 'acceptable' norms, such as not having a boyfriend (Connell, 1987; Gontek, 2009; Morrell, 2003; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002; Wood et al., 2008). This discourse is discussed in more detail later on in this chapter. Valerie did not report any of her rapes, and her silence was reinforced by her lack of social support at home and lack of faith in local police services. Valerie speaks about how her attackers would be waiting for her on the road when she finished school in the afternoon.

> ...when I leave school walking home, I don't feel safe because I would meet them anyway on the road because they know the route that I take from school to home.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> ...it actually got to an extent that each and every Friday it became a pattern that each and every Friday I know that when I come back from school I'm going to meet them.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

From Valerie's story, it becomes apparent that when she was 17 her attackers would rape her every Friday afternoon when she was returning home from school. Valerie was too scared to

share her abuse with anyone and as a result developed precautionary strategies to try to avoid her rapists and prevent any further attacks.

> I had to take a longer route when I go home which took me about two hours instead of the route that took me 30 minutes to get home but then the whole experience ended up forcing me to every weekend to end up moving, to end up spending weekends with my grandmother who stayed in a township that was 30 minute drive away from where I used to stay so I'll tell my grandmother that I'd just go straight to school and then leave straight from school and take a taxi that goes to my grandmother's place for the weekend but then I'd go on Monday and go straight to school but that didn't end there. When I had, when I decided that perhaps if I have a boyfriend they will leave me alone.
>
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Valerie's precautionary strategies included changing her route home from school, staying at her grandmother's house in another township every weekend, and eventually getting a boyfriend. Coates and Wade (2004) argue that violence occurs in an interpersonal context and that specific responses by victims/survivors only become recognisable as resistance when we examine the details of the specific context. Foucault (1982) also argues that every power relationship implies a "strategy of struggle" (p. 794) and is defined by its relationship of confrontation. In this regard, the details of Valerie's specific context and the strategy of struggle she was involved in are explored because it is important to show how women exhibit agency and resistance in the context of violence, as there is a tendency for gender-based violence research to

construct women as victims of patriarchy (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Hollander, 2002; Wade, 1997).

Although Valerie does not report her rapists and is silent about the sexual violence perpetrated against her, her strategy of struggle takes on another form. For example, walking two hours instead of 30 minutes to reach home is a form of resistance on the part of Valerie, as it may help her avoid her rapists. Staying at her grandmother's home in a different township every weekend to avoid her rapists also represents another act of resistance. Having a boyfriend may also be seen as another act of resistance as he may offer a form of protection from her rapists. During this time, Valerie was also in her final year of high school, where her mother also worked as cleaner. Her mother became an alcoholic during this year, and Valerie had to clean the school for her every day to ensure that her mother did not lose her job. Cleaning the school every day for her mother can also be seen as an act of resistance, as Valerie was trying to reclaim agency and power in what appears to be a disempowering context. Because of the compounded stress of trying to keep her mother's job, the continuing sexual violence and the time-consuming precautionary strategies she developed to avoid her rapists, Valerie failed her final year of high school. However, she returned to finish her schooling when she was 30 and is now studying towards a social work degree at the university. These can also be seen as acts of resistances, in the context of the continuous sexual violence she experienced growing up and the lack of social support she received. The actions embedded in women's precautionary strategies, like Valerie's, may symbolise the way women resist and challenge discourses of gender vulnerability and subordinate femininity (Hollander, 2002). Mama (2001, p. 67) argues that identity is defined in terms of the "power and resistance, subjection and citizenship, action and reaction" in an

individual's narrative. These parallels of power and resistance can be seen in Valerie's story, which is characterised by her strategies of resistance and her efforts to reclaim agency. However, her precautionary strategy of having a boyfriend went awry and in the excerpt below, she speaks about how her attackers tried to sabotage her protective strategy.

> But then when I had a boyfriend then they figured out ways to actually get to him and then they told him whatever they told him about me. But then after they had spoken to him then he started treating me like I wasn't worthy of being his girlfriend then he started having another girlfriend whereas he had me as a girlfriend. So he basically treated me like if I was just trash or something.
>
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Valerie's boyfriend began physically abusing her and she ran away from home, to escape her alcoholic mother, her rapists and her abusive boyfriend. The act of running away from home can also be seen as an act of resistance as Valerie is actively choosing to leave a severely abusive context and reclaim her agency. She became homeless and went to live in a dumpsite in a neighbouring town for a few months, where she began making and selling items she found.

> I would collect boxes and tins to sell.
>
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> Then I would sell handbags that I would make out of leather covers that I would get from the dumpsite and then I had decided that I couldn't stay in the dumpsite for long.

(Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

This entrepreneurship in the direst of circumstances also represents another act of resistance displayed by Valerie. Identifying these acts of resistance in women's narratives is important, as transformative and empowering research, like this study, must show how women resist and exhibit agency in this violent context. After living in the dumpsite for a few months, Valerie moved in with her grandmother in a different township in the Eastern Cape. Between the period of 18 and 32 years, Valerie's mother passed away and she moved to a different city in another province and began working as a receptionist and then a salesperson, to financially support her younger sister and pay for her school fees. After completing her schooling at 30 years old, Valerie came to study at UCT. Valerie's journey comprises of an impoverished community, an alcoholic and unsupportive mother, an absent father, horrific and repeated sexual violence, an abusive boyfriend and homelessness, and eventually culminates in her studying at the university. Her narrative on the surface appears tragic - however, the strength and resilience of Valerie is emphasised throughout her story, transforming her narrative into one of triumph.

In the second interview Valerie begins to reflect on her own resilience and her attackers, primarily the group of men that gang raped her when she was 17.

I just discovered that at the end of the day everything is not about me. It's about them. Why they chose to do it.

(Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2).

> ...when I kind of sit and think about it and just look at myself where I am right now where they are I just discover that actually they ended up nowhere and being nobodies.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

> The only thing that I know is that I know the worst about me and I know the best about me and I will stop at nothing as long as I still believe that I have the potential to achieve what I want.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

> The only thing that I know is that I am the best thing that is ever happened to me.
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

Valerie's story is characterised by considerable strength and can be considered a narrative of both resistance and resilience. Exploring Valerie's story has allowed us to re-frame social discourse surrounding precautionary strategies, transforming them into strategies of resistance, which can be used by women to reclaim agency and achieve psychological liberation. On a surface level, the construction of precautionary strategies positions women as responsible for avoiding violence. It invokes the male sex drive discourse and victim-blaming discourses, which shifts blame from perpetrators to victims (Campbell, 2002a; Gavey, 2005; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Huff, 1997; Stanko, 1996, 2001). However, precautionary strategies can also be constructed as efforts to seek agency, as seen in Valerie's story. Foucault (1982) recognises the paradox of freedom, a concept that can be applied to how we choose to construct precautionary strategies in this context. Foucault (1982) argues that there is no concept of

essential freedom in the context of power relations and at the heart of power relations are the "the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom" (p. 790). Exploring the precautionary strategies that Valerie constructs allows us to highlight the struggle between power and agency within the context of a violent and fearful society. It shows us how both a victim-blaming discourse and a discourse of resistance are constantly colliding when we engage with discourse surrounding 'women's safety', highlighting the hegemonic discourse available to women in society and the patriarchal power relations at play. As researchers, we must acknowledge this paradox of freedom and ensure that we listen around and beyond the words of women to find their own counter-stories (De Vault, 1990; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011).

6.3. Discourses of Feminine Transgression

Women constantly self-regulated and monitored themselves to ensure they were complying with the discourse of subordinate femininity. Women who transgressed from 'traditional' heterosexual female norms of dress, behaviour or desire, and/or acted in ways that do not support hegemonic masculinity or the subordination of women, were punished (Bennett, 2010; Connell, 1987; Moffett, 2006, 2009). Violence appeared to be used as a method of social control, to discipline and punish women who transgressed from the discourse of subordinate femininity. Three of the women in the study spoke about incidences in their lives in which they were personally punished for transgressing subordinate femininity. Four similarly constructed different forms of violence, such as verbal abuse, intimate partner violence, sexual violence and homophobic violence, as a means of disciplining women. The stories of women who transgressed from subordinate or 'traditional' feminine identity are detailed below.

6.3.1. Disciplining Departures from Heterosexual Femininity

Phelisa's story serves as an example of how women are disciplined for departing from constructions of subordinate heterosexual femininity. Phelisa was victimised for transgressing traditional heterosexual female norms of dress, behaviour or desire. However, unlike the other women discussed in this chapter, Phelisa specifically transgresses heterosexual feminine identity and self- identifies as a Black African lesbian. Phelisa is a 28-year-old, Black African, social work student, who lives in a university residence and grew up in a township in Johannesburg. She speaks about her experience of homophobic violence in the excerpts below, in which she was coming home from a shebeen (bar) in Soweto with her girlfriend at the time.

> In 2010 I was attacked with my partner. I was bruised with a few broken ribs because I didn't want to talk to that guy. He wanted to ask me out so and they started swearing at us... (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> She (Phelisa's girlfriend at the time) came and we went to buy beers. On our way there, okay on our way back there's these two guys and they wanted to talk to me. I was like "I don't want to talk to you", because I knew that guy. I grew up with that guy. That guy used to ask my sister out as a child. Now that I'm all grown up he thinks he can ask me out now so I've, I was so irritated by his behaviour. Then he looked at the girl I was with and started swearing at us. "You fuck each other with curlers" and whatever, whatever and said a whole lot of nasty things. And I got so pissed off. I was so angry. We ignored him and he kept going. He got very irritated we weren't giving him any attention and he said "I'm talking to you, bitches. Why aren't you responding?" blah blah. We just kept quiet and he said um, he said "I'll show

> you how a real woman should act". Then he grabbed my girlfriend and then it started happening. We're screaming but nobody comes to help. Then I got a brick. I hit this guy with a brick in his face. While I was focusing on that I pulled my girlfriend and I ran back to my granny's house.
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Phelisa refused to talk with the two men, despite their advances and as a result, she was attacked while walking home. Gilligan (2003) argues that men are violent when they feel they have been shamed, unacknowledged or disrespected, and cites shame as the psychological cause of violence. Phelisa 'shamed' her attackers by refusing to talk to them and accept their advances. This is emphasised when the man following her and her girlfriend home from the shebeen tells Phelisa "I'm talking to you, bitches. Why aren't you responding?". Violence can be seen as an effective way of capturing the attention of others and is often perpetrated in an attempt to maintain one's 'tough' masculine sexual identity (Gilligan, 2003). Phelisa is also deviating from the subordinate constructions of femininity by refusing to pay attention to these men. The violence perpetrated against her can be seen as a way of 'teaching her a lesson' for her 'disrespectful' behaviour and relegating her to her second-class position as a woman (Gqola, 2007; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Morrell, 2003). However, Phelisa's attack is a multi-faceted issue and she appeared to be attacked for other reasons, such as: (1) for being sexually unavailable (she would not talk to the men and only dates women) and (2) for being masculine (he states "I'll show you how a real woman should act" and "you fuck each other with curlers"). Violence also occurs when power (i.e. male power) is in jeopardy and may be more likely to occur when

individuals resist patriarchal oppression (Arendt, 1970; Kelly, 2013). Phelisa actively resists patriarchal oppression in her sexual unavailability and her identity as a Black African lesbian.

Wood (2005) argues that women who challenge ideas of 'proper femininity' through practices, such as drinking in bars/shebeens or being a lesbian, are disciplined. Public spaces are also characterised by male dominance (Koskela, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989), and behaviour carried out in the public arena that violates dominant discourses of heterosexual passive female sexuality are regulated through the operation of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1979; Gavey, 2005). Disciplinary power dictates that behaviours that violate discursively prescribed norms are punished and behaviours that validate these norms are rewarded (Foucault, 1979; Gavey, 2005). It appears that the public domain dictates that you display typically 'heterosexual behaviour' and if lesbians 'flaunt' their sexuality in the public arena then they are punished and disciplined accordingly for their subversion from discursively prescribed norms. In a similar vein, Nel and Judge (2008) argue that crimes against homosexual individuals, like Phelisa, are intended to make a statement to the victim that their representation of sexuality or gender is unacceptable and needs to change. Hate crimes emphasize the intersection between identity and violence, in which violence is used to 'contain' and punish the identity of another (Harris, 2004). These specific hate crimes against lesbians in South Africa are a way of pushing women back into subordinate and traditional heterosexual perceptions of womanhood, as men perceive lesbians as a threat to their masculinity (Gontek, 2009; Msibi, 2009; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002).

Later on in the story, Phelisa explains how she and her girlfriend had escaped to her grandmother's house. Yet by that time, the two men had recruited some of their friends and they were driving around the township looking for her. The men came to her grandmother's house and beat her in front of her grandmother. Phelisa speaks about this in the excerpt below.

> They beat me up. My grandmother couldn't do anything. She kept screaming for them to stop. Still nobody came to help. Eventually they left. I got inside. I was bleeding.
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

It interesting to note that when Phelisa speaks about this incident, she begins as if telling a story and her sentences are descriptive. However, when she speaks about the actual violence that took place she speaks in short sentences. This can be seen in the except above: "Still nobody came to help. Eventually they left. I got inside. I was bleeding". The use of short sentences, interspersed with past and present tense, could indicate the urgency and significance of this trauma. It was common for the women in this study to slip into the present tense when describing traumatic experiences. In accordance with the argument made by Hollway and Jefferson (2009), this may represent the continuing significance of these traumatic events in their lives. It may also indicate how Phelisa is almost re-experiencing the trauma as she recounts the events in the interview. Phelisa went to the police station after she was assaulted to report the incident. However, instead of receiving support, she experienced secondary victimisation when the police officers began harassing her.

> They (police officers) ask us "Why are we gay? So beautiful to be gay." We shouldn't be. And they keep on calling each other "Hey come and hear this. What do you ladies say?". It's all a big joke to them and I got so mad.
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

In the excerpt above, Phelisa speaks about how the policeman told her she was "too beautiful to be gay", indicating the stigma surrounding lesbian identity in South Africa. Phelisa's attacker also reinforces this stigma when he says, "I'll show you how a real woman should act". This statement, coupled with the police officers' harassment, depicts the discourse of feminine transgression in which women are punished for stepping out of the strict 'traditional' tenets of heterosexual femininity in South Africa. Phelisa's story of hate crime is an example of the growing epidemic of homophobic violence targeted against Black African lesbians in South Africa, with Black African lesbians in impoverished communities the most at risk for homophobic violence (Anguita, 2012; Bennett et al., 2010; Gontek, 2009; Mkhize et al., 2010; Msibi, 2009; Morrissey, 2013; Muholi, 2004; Nel & Judge, 2008; POWA, 2010; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002; Wells & Polders, 2006). Unfortunately, it is difficult to quantify the amount of hate crimes in South Africa, as they are not recorded in police statistics (Mkhize et al., 2010). Another woman in the study, Nomzamo, also highlighted the prevalence of homophobic violence when she spoke about the violence in her hometown in the Eastern Cape.

> Or the other thing they always hate gays. Each and every week one of the gays will be killed. That Xhosa stereotype.
>
> (Nomzamo, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Nomzamo's description "that Xhosa stereotype" adds a cultural dimension to the hate crimes targeted against Black African lesbians in South Africa. The prevalence of homophobic violence against Black African lesbians is demonstrative of the intersectional nature of oppression. These women are targeted because of their transgression of acceptable heterosexual roles and behaviours, as well as their status as Black African women, in which homosexuality is constructed as 'un-African' and infused with notions of colonialism and moral degeneration (Bennett, 2010; Gontek, 2009). Muholi (2004) argues that hate crimes against Black African lesbians "is a weapon used to discipline our erotic and sexual autonomy" (p. 123). She situates these specific hate crimes against Black African lesbians in a history of colonialism and racial oppression in South Africa, in which 'the identity of African women' has become constructed as artificially fixed (Muholi, 2004). Research indicates that deviations from the fixed identity of African women in South Africa are met with hostility and violence from the wider community (Bennett, 2010; Gontek, 2009; Muholi, 2004).

Phelisa's story regarding her secondary victimisation is not complete and after another hour of filing a report at the police station, despite their harassment and misconduct, the police arrested her main perpetrator, the man that attacked her on the way home from the shebeen. Phelisa returned home with her grandmother, aunt and her girlfriend, who all went with her to the police station. She calls an ambulance and after five hours of waiting for the ambulance, which still has not come, the police arrive at her door.

> ...then the police came because that guy filed a counter charge because I hit him with a brick. So I got arrested as well. They put us in the holding cells for four hours. It was the worst thing ever.
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1).

Defending herself by hitting her attacker with a brick demonstrates how Phelisa resisted her attacker. However, she was arrested for assault. Russell (1997) argues that the media demonises women who attack men, even in contexts of trying to defend themselves and highlighting these acts of resistance and resilience in survivors narrative accounts of their abuse is instrumental both to the construction of more empowered feminine subjectivities and to dispelling the myth that women should 'turn the other cheek' when faced with this kind of violence. As Clarke (1992, as cited in Russell, 1997) argued if the risks involved in attacking women were greater, there might be fewer attacks. It is in this way that 'resistance' helps us move away from subordinate femininity and allows us to redefine and create new discourses of femininity.

Phelisa lay in the holding cell for four hours before the police dismissed the counter charge and released her. She was denied medical attention and was bleeding profusely. Phelisa's case against her perpetrator was also dismissed without her knowledge. She speaks about her frustration over South Africa's criminal justice system in the excerpt below.

> The case never even made it to court. The case was dismissed without me knowing about it. We sat for hours, from early in the morning, waiting for the case to be called in. No one did.

> They didn't and when the judge was about to leave I went and asked the magistrate and said "I'm here for this case. What is happening?". And he said "No. That case was dismissed.". "On what grounds?". "There was not enough evidence." "What do you mean not enough evidence?". It happened on a Saturday it's Monday today, have you tried to get any evidence?". Nobody could answer me. They loved it. So I had to carry on with my life and just forget about it. It's just the system we have in South Africa.
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

The dismissal of her case despite the presence of evidence signifies the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system in South Africa, and may even indicate corruption. Phelisa's case being dismissed and her secondary victimisation at the hands of the police are symbolic of the institutionalised silence surrounding violence against women in South Africa. Research indicates that homosexuals/lesbians in South Africa are often subject to secondary victimisation by police officers and the criminal justice system, when they seek help (Nel & Judge, 2008; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002). This leads to their alienation from the very institutions that are supposed to help, which contributes to the underreporting of homophobic violence. Furthermore, this institutionalised homophobia in South Africa perpetuates the silence surrounding these hate crimes (Eliason, 1996). Despite South Africa having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world with regards to sexual orientation, homophobic attacks are still prevalent and both men and women feel there are not adequate services to protect those affected (Wells & Polders, 2006). Phelisa's story is an example of how the system has failed her and how it both tolerates these hate crimes and promotes silence.

In response to the prevalence of homophobic violence in South Africa and the institutionalised silence surrounding it Phelisa invests in a discourse of resistance, constructing herself as a social activist in her narrative account. She speaks about her LGBT activist work in the excerpts below.

> I've been working with gay issues for the past eight, nine years um I've been an activist since then just for basic women's rights. I've dealt with so many cases of women being attacked, so many of them being raped because they're gay. Um (pause) and whole lot of domestic issues, partners, same sex partners and stuff.
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> There've been a whole lot of petitions that we've been signing and signing and signing. Nothing is being done. I've been involved in a lot of LGBT groups. I organised one of the marches in Cape Town. The MC had a dinner the other day and they said ja we support gay rights but we all know where they stand. They're just trying to make us shut up. They feel us gays and lesbians are making too much noise so they'll say anything.
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

In these excerpts, Phelisa reclaims her agency through positioning herself as a social activist. Discourses of resistance are instrumental to how she constructs her identity. This positioning helps her create a positive gender-identity and defends against any shame or fear she may feel as a result of her attack and the daily stigma she faces. This is a significant point because it is important in research like this to restore agency to the author of the narrative

(Parker, 2004b). However, Phelisa also speaks about her frustration regarding her social activism and struggle against homophobic violence in South Africa. This frustration regarding her activism work, emphasised throughout her interviews, was also compounded by another significant event that occurred during the interview process. Phelisa talks at great lengths about how her new partner is dying because she was infected with HIV after she was gang raped. Her partner was gang raped in a township near Johannesburg whilst they were dating. Phelisa was not present while her partner was raped and does not elaborate on her partner's rape. It is uncertain from both interviews whether her partner's gang rape was a LGBT-related hate crime. However, in terms of the overwhelming homophobic violence in townships in South Africa her sexual orientation may possibly have been a factor (Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002). Phelisa's story of her partner's gang rape and deteriorating health is detailed below.

> She was gang raped while we were still dating and she got HIV. Now she's reached the last stages of AIDS and she might die. She's in hospital. It's hard. I've been crying the whole day today...
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> In less than three months after she found out she was positive she started losing a whole lot of weight. We couldn't understand what was going on and then she started taking her ARVS. It was noisy. We'd fight. And those pills they made her sick. They made her sick. They changed her from one group of pills to the next. They made her worse. She changed them about three times now. Still she wasn't getting better.
>
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Phelisa's partner's health deteriorated rapidly after she was diagnosed with HIV and her partner was hospitalized in Johannesburg during the interview process. Phelisa flew to Johannesburg after the first interview; however, her partner passed away the night before she arrived. She never got to see her partner before she died. The second interview was conducted a month after this incident. Phelisa's reaction to her partner's death is detailed below.

> I was angry. I was hurt. Still hurting. Still angry. Have a lot of unanswered questions. I don't know. It all happened so fast. I don't know how to deal with it.
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

> She was so amazing. I don't think I could have loved anyone the way I loved her and that's what scares me the most.
> (Phelisa, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

Phelisa's story is both poignant and sad because it highlights some of the critical social issues facing women in South Africa: homophobic violence, assault, HIV/AIDS and rape. Phelisa constructs her narrative as tragic, and the hate crime she experienced and the death of her partner represent turning points in her narrative. Despite her investment in a discourse of resistance and her subject positioning as a social activist for LGBT rights, Phelisa is sill frustrated and angry with the criminal justice system in South Africa and how LGBT issues are dealt with in the public arena. Her grief surrounding her partner's death and the circumstances

surrounding her death also appeared to inflame this anger, as well as the frustration she feels towards her own traumatic experiences and social activist work.

6.3.2. Disciplining Through Verbal Abuse and Harassment

Phelisa's story of homophobic violence explores how women are punished for deviating from constructions of subordinate heterosexual femininity. Unlike Phelisa, Sindiswa, Valerie and Nomzamo self-identified as heterosexual, however they also spoke about how women are punished through different forms of violence for deviating from acceptable constructions of subordinate heterosexual femininity in South Africa. Sindiswa was verbally abused and harassed because of such deviation. She experienced verbal abuse and harassment from both men and women in her local community when she was 16 because she was unmarried and pregnant. The verbal abuse that Sindiswa endured is demonstrative of how women are punished for transgressing subordinate constructions of feminine identity, because this threatens dominant discourses of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987; Gontek, 2009; Morrell, 2003; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002). In the excerpt below Sindiswa recalls the harassment she experienced in her community, a township outside of Cape Town.

> I saw South Africa's cruelty. For example when I was pregnant I had men who insulted me for being pregnant. There were women who talked but men were so aggressive because I think to them I was someone who would grow and be something to them. I don't know how. I know what. Men to women they're so rude. They were saying stuff like "How can I marry you now? You are so damaged." And "Which man would want you now that you are 16 and pregnant?". Some would just say stuff to hurt me I think. It was just men in the streets.

> Women would say stuff like "You have disappointed your grandmother". They would say things that I already know but men are so spiteful. It was like that when I was staying home and pregnant it was like that.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

The image of Sindiswa as a 16-year-old, unmarried, pregnant, Black African woman walking around a South African township produces a representation that is in opposition to the construction of a modest, virginal and subordinate woman (i.e. 'good womanhood'). Her identity as a young, unmarried, pregnant woman transgresses various discourses of female sexuality and desire. This made her a target for abuse, in particular for abuse from men. Hollway's (1984, 1989) have/hold discourse, a dominant discourse in South Africa and elsewhere, constructs women as having sex in exchange for commitment. Women who have sex outside the confines of commitment or marriage are therefore chastised and punished by society. In a similar argument, Foucault (1978) contends that discourses of sexuality are deployed to regulate and control individuals in society, and are thus intricately linked to power relations in society. Reflecting the dynamics of this contention, women who transgress the discourse of passive female sexuality (embedded in the have/hold discourse) by expressing sexual availability and desire are often chastised and punished by others (Gavey, 2005).

As a young, pregnant, unwed woman Sindiswa is expected to hide because of the 'shame' associated with transgressing the dominant discourse of passive female sexuality and the have/hold discourse. Yet she does not, evident in the fact that she encounters this verbal abuse when she walks around her community. This provokes verbal abuse from mostly the men in her

community. The first abusive comment: “How can I marry you now? You are so damaged.”, makes reference to how Sindiswa’s value is in direct relation to her marriage to a man and her status as a young, unwed, *pregnant*, Black African woman makes her ‘damaged’. The second abusive comment “Which man would want you now that you are 16 and pregnant?” again refers to how Sindiswa’s identity and self-worth is directly linked to her sexual desirability and attachment to a man. These comments are infused with disciplinary power and discourses of discipline. Such discourses underlie the discourse of feminine transgression, working to regulate women’s lives and produce ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1979). These discourses of discipline and disciplinary power are normalised through their repetition, as evidenced in Sindiswa’s story of the consistency of the verbal abuse against her, and become part of our everyday existence as women.

6.3.3. Disciplining Through Intimate Partner Violence

Two of the women in the study, Valerie and Sindiswa, spoke about how women who transgressed from the discourse of subordinate femininity, were also punished by their partners in dating relationships. There is substantial research which shows that men use violence to punish and control their female partners’ behaviour in intimate relationships (Abeya et al., 2012; Barkhuizen, 2013; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Gill, 2004; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Mokwena, 1991; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 2007, 2008). In the context of romantic heterosexual relationships, violence is used by men as a means of imposing the ‘rules’ in a relationship and enforcing discipline and control over their female partners (Shefer et al., 2000; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood et al., 2008). Valerie’s story

of her abusive ex-boyfriend from high school is detailed in the excerpt below. The extract demonstrates how Valerie was punished because she deviated from the construction of subordinate femininity, practicing assertiveness by confronting her boyfriend about his infidelity.

> When I was in high school he used to hit me. With him it was because every time I would find out that he had another woman and when I confronted him instead of owning up he would beat me up
>
> (Valerie, 32-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 2)

Valerie's assertive behaviour challenged her boyfriend's adherence to a discourse of hegemonic masculinity, which is predicated on the control of women. As a result, her boyfriend punished her for her 'disrespectful' behaviour and used violence to reassert his dominance. Research shows that young women in dating relationships can be beaten for a variety of reasons, from suspected infidelity, infidelity, assertiveness, refusal to have sex, disobedience, being disrespectful, wearing inappropriate clothes or going out without their boyfriend's consent (Abeya et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998; Wood et al., 2007, 2008).

Sindiswa also speaks about the disciplinary relationship between men and women in the excerpts below, in which she highlights how men place themselves in a hierarchal corrective relationship to women.

> I just feel like an object, a man's object because you grow up knowing that we as women have to look up to men.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> Women who've suffered because they're obeying their husband.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

> I've seen women who are bruised deliberately because their husbands have decided they'll use them as their boxing bags. So ja. I'm seeing all of this stuff now that I'm old but when I was growing up, I was seeing it as fine. I never thought it was wrong seeing a neighbour hitting his wife because I always see the police coming and picking him up today and tomorrow he's there.
>
> (Sindiswa, 21-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Sindiswa's comments on seeing domestic abuse as "fine" reflect the substantial qualitative research in South Africa that highlights that intimate partner violence is normalised and tolerated in the Eastern Cape (Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998, 2001; Wood et al., 1998, 2007, 2008), Western Cape (Shefer et al., 2000; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood et al., 1996) and KwaZulu-Natal (Sathiparsad, 2005; Vagara, 2004). From Sindiswa's excerpts above it appears that the relationship between men and women can even be constructed as a parent-child relationship in which the parent (men) discipline and punish the child (women) when they misbehave or display 'disrespectful' behaviour, which is a trend in other research on intimate partner violence (Barkhuizen, 2013; Wood et al., 2008). This relational style appears to

be normalised, and punishing women for transgressing the rules of subordinate femininity becomes constructed as normal. Sindiswa even talks about how husbands use their wives as their "boxing bags", symbolising how their wives are seen as objects that men can take their frustrations out on.

Sindiswa also speaks about how when she was growing up she thought domestic violence was normal because she often witnessed her neighbour beating his wife and this behaviour seemed tolerated and even condoned by the police. This normalisation of violence evokes Foucault's (1978) seminal quote on power: "power is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms." (p. 86). This discourse and practice of disciplining and punishing women when they do not conform to subordinate or 'traditional' constructs of femininity, coupled with the lack of response from law enforcement, leads to the normalisation of intimate partner violence and perpetuation of discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. Despite prevalent research regarding the discourse of violence as a means of discipline in intimate relationships, it is my argument that many men invest in the discourse of feminine transgression and place themselves in a hierarchal corrective relationship to all women, not just ones they are in relationships with (Wood et al., 2008). This can be seen in other instances in Sindiswa, Phelisa and Valerie's narratives, in which they describe being victimised by men in their communities.

6.3.4. Disciplining Through Sexual Violence

Sexual violence can also be used to discipline and control women. Discourse surrounding gang rape as a means to discipline women for 'disrespectful' behaviour is prevalent

in South Africa (Mokwena, 1991; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005) and emerged in this study as well. For example, as discussed earlier in this chapter, Valerie was gang raped when she was 17 by a group of boys in her community. Valerie constructs her rape as a form of discipline because as she states in the first interview "I was gang raped by a group of friends because I didn't have a boyfriend and I had no intentions of having a boyfriend". She positions her rapists in a hierarchal corrective relationship to her because she states they raped her as a way to punish her for not having a boyfriend and appearing to be uninterested in having one. This reflects a discourse of feminine transgression in which men cast themselves as responsible for correcting the behaviour of women in their community that they feel are acting 'inappropriately' and deviating from 'traditional' or subordinate constructions of femininity (Connell, 1987; Gontek, 2009; Morrell, 2003; Reid & Dirsuweit, 2002; Wood et al., 2008). Research indicates that in terms of this particular type of gang rape women are targeted because they are considered 'snobby' and are raped to keep them within their designated roles and boundaries (Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005). Valerie's decision not to have a boyfriend characterises her as independent and as a result, she is punished for refusing to recognise her second-class and subordinate status as a woman (Moffett, 2006, 2009).

Nomzamo also highlights the disciplinary power of gang rape in the excerpt below.

Nomzamo: When they are raping it is four, five guys and one person. They say "we don't rape we punish her. We're not raping her. We're just punishing her."

Interviewer: For what?

Nomzamo: Maybe for stealing. For not keeping the promises.

(Nomzamo, 28-year-old, Black African, Social work student, Interview 1)

Nomzamo speaks about how the men in her hometown in the Eastern Cape who perpetuate these rapes also construct their actions as punishment, highlighting how gang rape is used to humiliate and shame women, destroying their confidence and reminding them of their designated place in society (Wood, 2005). Nomzamo, Sindiswa and Valerie construct verbal abuse, intimate partner violence and rape as forms of punishment for transgressing from a discourse of subordinate femininity.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter outlines the discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression embedded in the women's narratives in this study. Discourses of feminine self-regulation, in which women assume responsibility for avoiding violence and construct precautionary strategies, may help mitigate women's feelings of fear and anxiety surrounding the prevalence of violence against women; yet they also invoke victim-blaming discourses (Brown, 2013; Campbell, 2002a; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Stanko, 1996). Discourses of feminine transgression explore how women who violate subordinate constructions of femininity are punished, and how violence is constructed as a means of disciplining women for transgressing traditional and subordinate heterosexual female norms of dress, behaviour or desire (Bennett, 2010; Moffett, 2006, 2009). Throughout these results chapters, I have attempted to move beyond hegemonic discourse, by identifying the acts of resistance and counter-stories present in these women's narratives (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Coates & Wade, 2004; De Vault, 1990; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011; Wade, 1997). This is exemplified in the

analysis that whilst from a feminist perspective there may be negative implications of constructions of precautionary strategies (e.g. victim-blaming discourses); conversely they can also represent acts of resistance and position subjects as powerful and agentic. Women's resistance and victimisation are often discussed in opposition to one another (Brown, 2013), however I have attempted to emphasise both women's resistance and suffering throughout this thesis. The central thesis of the findings of this study emphasise the discourse of subordinate femininity, which is reproduced through participants' narratives of family violence, fear and vulnerability and discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. However, how the women in the study both reproduce and resist the discourse of subordinate femininity in their everyday talk is illustrative of how these women construct their identity in the South African context. The following and concluding chapter provides a summary of the study's findings, the limitations of the study, the study's contributions, recommendations for further research and final reflections and conclusions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

Violence against women has been established as both prevalent and tolerated in South Africa, a fact that further entrenches the subordination of women in this country. This study explored how young women construct their identity in this volatile context and the impact that living in a culture of violence has on them. A summary of the research findings is discussed in the following section. The limitations of the study, the study's contributions, recommendations for further research, and final reflections and conclusions are outlined in this final chapter.

7.2. Summary of Research Findings

This qualitative, biographical-interpretive study explored how young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in this culture of violence against women, more specifically the psychological (psychosocial) impact this has on them. This study drew on the theory of the psychosocial subject, allowing both a 'social' and 'individual' understanding of identity and violence against women. Free-association, narrative interviews were conducted with 27 female students from UCT and an interpretive analysis drawing on discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis was used to analyse the interview texts. The data was interpreted in terms of the meta-narratives and discourses that emerged in young women's accounts of their lives and identities. The unconscious motivations underlying these discourses were also explored. The women in the study constructed narratives of family violence, fear and vulnerability and invested in discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression. These narratives and discourses

worked together to produce a discourse of subordinate femininity, which was the overarching meta-theme emerging from this research. How the women in the study produced and resisted the discourse of subordinate femininity was central to how they constructed their identity. It is difficult to generalise these findings to all young women in South Africa because of the qualitative, interpretative nature of the study and the small university-based nature of the sample. However, this study does provide valuable insights regarding how young women construct their identity in South Africa and allows us to engage with various stories surrounding violence against women.

7.2.1. Production of Subordinate Femininity: Narratives of Family Violence, Fear, and Vulnerability

The study found that women are constructed as fearful, vulnerable and subordinate through the production of a range of narratives, such as historical narratives of family violence, early narratives of learning to fear men and narratives of fearing public spaces. Historical narratives of family violence were constructed in six different women's accounts. These women drew on trauma narratives of female family members, primarily their mothers, and incorporated these stories into their own self-narratives (Denham, 2008). The study revealed how central their mother's trauma narratives and their relationships with their abusive fathers were to their own identity, emphasising the intergenerational impact that violence against women can have on the identity of women. These women engaged in various techniques such as splitting, minimization and mutualising language to distance themselves from the abuse their mothers suffered. This served various purposes such as, allowing them to construct positive relationships with their abusive fathers and repress to some degree their own narrative of family violence and how it was

intertwined with their identity. These actions were produced out of their unconscious desire to construct a positive family narrative and identity. However, not all of the women used techniques to preserve their relationships with their fathers as these women were able to construct a positive family narrative and identity without their fathers.

Early narratives of learning to fear men was illustrated through two of the women's stories and these narratives positioned women from an early age as fearful and distrustful of men, ensuring that women begin positioning themselves in a continuous state of fear. These narratives of learning to fear men also show how the fear of rape has become constructed as normal and ingrained in the identity construction of these young women. The women in the study also constructed narratives of fearing public spaces and spatial exclusion. These narratives position women as constantly fearful of being alone in public spaces and highlight the gendered nature of freedom. There is substantial literature documenting how women express fear in public spaces and experience spatial exclusion (Bremner, 2004; Coakley, 2003; Day, 2001; Hollander, 2000, 2001, 2002; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997, 2000; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Lemanski, 2004, 2006; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995; Valentine, 1989). However, the majority of this literature is situated in the UK, US and Europe and this study explores the South African perspective, which is currently an under-researched area. The study highlights how these women locate fear in public spaces because these spaces are constructed as male-dominated and despite being normalised, these expressions of gender vulnerability are reflective of the wider gender-inequalities and prevalence of violence against women in society (Day, 2001; Koskela, 1997, 1999; Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989; Yodanis, 2004). Therefore, participants' fear and restricted

use of public space is demonstrative of how gender-inequality and the prevalence violence against women controls women in South African society on a day-to-day basis, emphasising the continuous traumatic impact of living in a culture of violence against women.

These different narratives work together to produce a discourse of subordinate femininity, in which women are taught to conform to a 'subordinate' or 'traditional' construction of femininity. The study revealed that participants constructed feminine identity in South Africa as associated with fear, vulnerability and victimhood, that is, a femininity that is subordinated to men. This construction of femininity is aligned with other research on the fear of violence, in which the female body is constructed as vulnerable, subordinate and physically powerless in the face of male control and violence (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Hollander, 2000, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Sandberg & Tollefsen, 2010; Valentine, 1989, 1997). However, many of the women in the study also resisted the discourse of subordinate femininity and invested in a discourse of resistance, which repositioned them as agentic and powerful. Talk surrounding reclaiming public spaces, statements of fearlessness and constructing careers in social work as a way of resisting the social problems of violence against women and inequality in South Africa are a few examples of the discourses of resistances that the women in the study invested in. Identifying participant's acts of resistance present in their trauma stories allows us to see these discourses of resistance and is a way of repositioning these women as survivors and not victims (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Coates & Wade, 2004; De Vault, 1990; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011; Wade, 1997). This allows us to move away from the construction of women as victims of patriarchy, which is typically presented in research on violence against women (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Wade, 1997). However, despite this discussion surrounding the

repositioning of these women as survivors and not victims it is still important to emphasise their struggle and loss. It is also important to note that exploring a discourse of agency and resistance, in which women are positioned as survivors, does not negate their traumatic experiences, but instead emphasises the strength of these women in times of adversity and helps us to construct more empowered subjectivities of femininity.

7.2.2. Production of Subordinate Femininity: Discourses of Feminine Self-Regulation and Transgression

The women in the study invested in discourses of feminine self-regulation and transgression, which produced a discourse of subordinate femininity. The discourse of feminine self-regulation ensures that women constantly self-regulate and control their choices and movements in society in an effort to avoid violence and stay 'safe'. The women in the study positioned themselves as actively responsible for avoiding the violence perpetrated against them and in response begin regulating their own movements and decisions by constructing precautionary strategies. There is substantial research which documents how women construct precautionary strategies to protect themselves against violence (Campbell, 2002a; Coakley, 2003; Hollander, 2001, 2002; Huff, 1997; Koskela, 1999; Madriz, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1997; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Scott, 2003; Stanko, 1995, 1996, 2001; Valentine, 1989; Wesley & Gaarder, 2004), however these studies are primarily based in the UK, US and Europe and there is sparse research in the South African context regarding this (Dosekun, 2007, 2013; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013), highlighting the importance of more research like this study. The precautionary strategies the women constructed in the study were embedded within various rules such as controlling how one dresses, not walking alone at night, avoiding public spaces and

practicing constant caution. These rules highlight the constant self-surveillance the women in the study often unknowingly put themselves under.

This study and other literature found that positioning oneself as responsible for avoiding violence may mitigate feelings of anxiety and distress; however, this is also counter-productive as women inadvertently position themselves in a discourse of victim-blaming (Brown, 2013; Campbell, 2002a; Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Stanko, 1996). The study found that participants' unconscious motivations underlying these discourses of feminine self-regulation and victim-blaming were interpreted in relation to their biographical/narrative accounts and primarily included protecting against feelings of anxiety, fear, distress, powerlessness and uncertainty; and reclaiming agency. The women in the study may have constructed precautionary strategies as a way to reclaim agency and protect against feelings of powerlessness and fear. As a result, precautionary strategies were also constructed as acts of resistance, which illustrated the discourses of resistance embedded in the women's talk (Hollander, 2002; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011; Wade, 1997). Literature also suggests that it is difficult to discuss women's experiences of trauma without invoking blame because of the hegemonic discourse available to women (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). It is important that we do not just position women in a victim-blaming discourse, but we also explore the counter stories embedded in their narrative accounts (Brown, 2013; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011). These counter stories were highlighted throughout the analysis process and represented an additional and unique contribution to existing research on violence against women.

This study found that women invested in a discourse of feminine transgression constructing violence as a means to discipline women for transgressing from 'traditional' or 'subordinate' heterosexual female norms of dress, behaviour or desire (Bennett, 2010; Moffett, 2006, 2009). This finding is aligned with other research, which shows that women who act in ways that do not support hegemonic masculinity or the subordination of women are punished because they are seen as behaving 'inappropriately' and transgressing from their expected roles (Abeya et al., 2012; Barkhuizen, 2013; Bennett, 2010; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Connell, 1987; Gill, 2004; Gontek, 2009; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Mokwena, 1991; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood et al., 2008). The discourse of feminine transgression is illustrated through an exploration of the different forms of violence used to punish the women in the study, such as homophobic violence, verbal abuse and harassment, intimate partner violence and sexual violence. Three of the women in the study spoke about incidences in their lives in which they were personally punished for transgressing subordinate femininity. Four similarly constructed different forms of violence, such as verbal abuse, intimate partner violence, sexual violence and homophobic violence, as a means of disciplining women.

There is substantial literature which found that men used violence to punish and control their female partner's behaviour, highlighting the discourse of violence as discipline (Abeya et al., 2012; Barkhuizen, 2013; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2004; Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011; Gill, 2004; Johnson et al., 2005; Khan et al., 2000; McCarry, 2009; Mokwena, 1991; Sathiparsad, 2005; Shefer et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000; Wood, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 1998;

Wood et al., 2007, 2008). However, this study found that men used violence to punish and control both their female partners, as well as women they are not in relationships with, an angle not widely seen in literature on discourses of violence in South Africa. The study found that men used violence to construct the identity of women by punishing behaviour that does not support the subordination of women and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987). The discourse and practice of violence as a means of discipline works to regulate women's lives and produce 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1979), therefore producing a discourse of subordinate femininity, which reinforces gender-inequality and systems of patriarchy. The intersection between these discourses of discipline, violence and women's identity in the South African context have not been previously researched elsewhere, highlighting the significant impact of this study.

7.3. Study's Contributions

It is my contention that the thesis statement (namely the argument that young women's lives and identities are transformed by living in a culture of violence against women in South Africa) and research questions central to this doctoral research, has been adequately addressed in this study. The study addressed the following research questions: (a) How are women affected by living in a society where violence against women is prevalent and tolerated? and (b) What is the psychological (psychosocial) impact of a culture of violence on women? The study also asked about the narratives women draw upon and the discourses they invest in, in their talk about their lives as women in South Africa. I was also interested in the unconscious motivation and attractions these discourses held for the young women who were part of this study. This qualitative, biographical interpretative study allowed me to explore the psychosocial impact of a culture of violence on women and using free-association, narrative interviews and interpretative

analysis I was able to reveal the different narratives the women in the study constructed the various discourses they invested in, and the unconscious motivations and attractions underlying these discourses. This study represents an original contribution in the following areas: methodological and theoretical. The study's contributions will be discussed in the section below. This study also addresses significant gaps in the existing literature on violence against women, as there have been few studies on this particular facet of the subject, which will also be discussed in this section.

In terms of original methodological contributions, the study adopted a biographical-interpretative framework; applying Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) free-association, narrative interview method and interpretative analysis to critically explore how young women experience living in a culture of violence against women in South Africa and how they construct their identity in this violent and volatile context, which has never been done before, making this research unlike any other in its field. The particular sample (young women), context of this study (Cape Town, South Africa) and unique methodology (interpretive-biographical qualitative research) give this research a distinctive character. The study revealed how subjectivity is constructed in the fusion between the social and individual and explores the issue of violence against women in South Africa from both an individual and social perspective. There is extensive research in South Africa on the risks and causes of violence against women; the types of violence perpetrated against women; and the interrelationship between HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence. However, little research has been conducted on the psychological impact and prolonged exposure to a culture of violence against women (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010), particularly amongst a sample of women who have not necessarily been identified as 'victims'.

This study addresses the need for more research on how women, regardless of their history of victimisation, experience living in South Africa and how living in this violent context shapes their identity.

In terms of theoretical contributions, this study represents an original contribution to the growing body of knowledge surrounding violence against women, fear of crime, women's identity and post-apartheid South Africa. This study has expanded our understanding of how young women construct their identity in a violent context, such as South Africa, in various ways. The study found that participants constructed historical narratives of family violence, emphasising how violence against women has become so endemic in South Africa that it was embedded in the family narratives of these women. The study also found that these women positioned their mother's trauma narratives and relationships with their abusive fathers as central to their identity, emphasising the intergenerational impact that violence against women can have on the identity construction of women. This represents an additional and unique contribution to research surrounding violence against women, as there is sparse research, which focuses on the intergenerational transmission of this specific trauma within the family unit. Although research does indicate that, the impact of growing up in an abusive home may resonate intergenerationally with an involvement in adult violence, to my knowledge no research indicates how being the second or third generation child of violence against women-related trauma may affect your identity construction (Markowitz, 2001).

The women in the study also constructed narratives of learning to fear men, in which they positioned themselves from an early age as fearing men, highlighting the widespread nature of

the discourse of subordinate femininity. The women in the study also constructed narratives of fearing public spaces and spatial exclusion, which is currently an under-researched area in South Africa, with most research being located in North America, Europe and the UK. This study addressed this gap in the literature and found that participants' fear and restricted use of public space is demonstrative of how gender-inequality and the prevalence violence against women controls women in South African society on a day-to-day basis, emphasising the continuous traumatic impact of living in a culture of violence against women. This restricted use of public space controls and limits the choices and movements women make in society, which promotes the subordination of women and perpetuates the cycle of violence against women. This represents a valuable contribution to the existing literature on violence against women, as it highlights both the South African context and the causes and effects of violence against women. Furthermore, existing literature on the fear of crime and violence often focuses on public spaces and neglects the domestic nature of violence against women, ignoring the impact of intimate partner violence or family violence (Stanko, 1995). Literature typically constructs women as only fearing 'the male stranger' and does not ask important questions surrounding domestic, intimate or family violence (Stanko, 1995). However, unlike previous literature this study asks these important questions and explores the fear of violence against women in terms of public and private spaces, exploring a wide range of stories of violence against women.

The study also found that these young women invested in discourses of self-regulation and transgression. How women self-regulate and construct precautionary strategies to avoid violence is currently an under-researched issue in South Africa, with most existing literature being situated in North America, Europe and the UK, and this study addressed this gap in the

literature. Precautionary strategies were explored in terms of their ability to position women in both discourses of victim-blaming and resistance. This is an angle that has only recently been highlighted in literature and there is sparse research, which explores the dual nature of the discourse of self-regulation (Hollander, 2002; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2011; Wade, 1997). Furthermore, acknowledging discourses of resistance allows this study to represent both the suffering and resistance of these women, which is not commonly seen in literature surrounding violence against women, offering us a more comprehensive picture of how women construct their identity (Brown, 2013).

This study also explores the discourse of feminine transgression and found that men used violence to punish and control women that behaved in ways that did not support the subordination of women and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987). The discourse of feminine transgression positions men in a hierarchal corrective relationship to all women, not just ones they are in relationships with, and as a result constructs the violence perpetrated against women as a natural response to their transgression, which serves to create high levels violence against women in society. This represents an additional contribution to existing research on violence against women, which typically constructs men as using violence to discipline only their female partners' behaviour. It also helps us identify one of the root causes of violence against women as this violence appears to be constructed as a natural reaction to the discourse of feminine transgression. The study emphasises the intersection between discourses of discipline, violence and women's identity, which represents a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge surrounding women's identity in South Africa. This study has also expanded our understanding of how the dissemination of discourses of subordinate femininity and feminine

transgression place lesbians in South Africa at risk of homophobic attacks, because these women are constructed as transgressing from subordinate or 'traditional' femininity and as a result are prime targets for violence. There has been in an influx of research recently regarding the experiences of Black African lesbians in South Africa and the homophobic violence targeted against them, however there is still not enough research on this issue and this study has expanded our understanding on how these women construct their identity and experience violence.

This study highlights the paradoxical existence of women in South Africa, in which they are legislatively empowered; however, violence against them continues to be perpetrated on a mass scale. This study addresses this gap between policy and practice by exploring the stories of young women in Cape Town. The study has revealed that the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa hinges on systems of patriarchy and dominant discourses of hegemonic masculinity, which work together to remind women of their subordinate and second-class position in society and women are punished if they refuse to accept this subordinate position (Moffett, 2006, 2009). This study found that the meta-discourse of subordinate femininity was constructed as normal and reproduced through participants' narratives and discourses. Women encounter this discourse of subordinate femininity when they witness and hear stories of family violence; when they learn what the fear of rape is; when they express fear in public spaces and experience spatial exclusion; when they regulate themselves by positioning themselves as responsible for avoiding violence and construct precautionary strategies; and when they are personally victims of violence because they are constructed as transgressing from subordinate constructions of femininity. It is in this way that the discourse of subordinate femininity is insidious because it is hidden in women's everyday talk surrounding their childhoods, their

families, their daily lives and the ways in which they negotiate public spaces and relationships with men. There are few South African-based studies which adequately explore the widespread discourse of subordinate femininity and how it affects the identity construction of young women (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003, 2004; Gqola, 2007; Moffett, 2006) and this study is novel in that respect as it addresses how women often unknowingly invest in a discourse of subordinate femininity, as well as how they resist this discourse. This study found that the reproduction and resistance of the discourse of subordinate femininity is central to how these young women construct their identity in South Africa and this 'power struggle with feminine identity' appears to be an issue that these women are constantly (consciously or unconsciously) grappling with.

7.4. The Limitations of the Study

No research study is without its limitations and it is the responsibility of the researcher to be aware of the difficulties that may arise when embarking on a research study and to address them accordingly (Oliver, 2004). This qualitative study placed the researcher as the primary instrument of the study as I conducted the interviews, transcribed the interviews and analysed the interview texts. Placing the researcher as the primary instrument in the study may lead to the researcher's bias and subjectivity influencing the study, possibly compromising the credibility of the research (Patton, 2002). However, I engaged in constant reflexivity to ensure that my own bias and subjective identity did not bias the research process. I acknowledge that research is shaped by researcher subjectivity and I accounted for my own emotional journey throughout the research process and the difficulties I faced. Another possible limitation was that both my participants and I were students at UCT and as a result, participants' responses may have been influenced or affected. Participants may not have been as candid in their interviews because they

may have feared they would run into me on campus and may not have wanted to risk embarrassment or shame. I ensured that participants knew that the interviews were confidential and I was not allowed to divulge the identity of any of the participants. I endeavoured to create a warm, safe and encouraging environment for participants during the interview process to combat this potential limitation. I also aimed to develop trust and reciprocity between participants and myself.

The sample chosen for this study may also be criticized because 27 young female university students may not appear representative of the whole experience of the female population in South Africa. However, qualitative research is not concerned with generalizability or a large sample size, but with the richness of human experience and stories. Secondly, sampling female university students may be seen as a limitation because in South Africa less than 20 percent of the population attend tertiary institutions and this sample can be seen as an elitist sub-section of the female population in South Africa (South African Higher Education: Facts and Figures, 2012). However, due to the government funded National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), financial aid policies, bursaries and scholarships available at UCT the women in this sample were from a variety of socio-economic locations, ranging from low to middle and upper-income brackets. The women were also from various racial, cultural and religious backgrounds. Their experiences ranged dramatically from growing up in rural and urban townships; experiencing homelessness; to growing up in middle and upper class homes. Sampling young, female university students allowed me to draw on a diverse sample that represented various social, political and economic locations and histories in South Africa. It also allowed me to interview women at a time in their lives (18- 32 years of age) where they were

becoming concerned with the embodied experience of female identity and may be challenging themselves on this issue. It is also important to note that young women will speak differently about their experiences regardless of whether or not they are attending the same university as there are many other interlocking systems of domination (race, socio-economic status, family history, past trauma etc.) that inform identity. However, being in a university setting, in which social issues such as violence against women are often critically discussed, does inform the way these women will recount and narrate their stories. It is important in this context to acknowledge how the sample and the setting of the study may influence the research and lend its own subjectivity to the results of the study.

Parker (2004b) argues that Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) free-association, narrative interviews individualizes, pathologizes and disempowers participants as it imposes a 'researcher knows best' framework on the narratives that participants construct. However, in this study I tried to honour the way these women chose to tell their stories and explored how these women resisted violence and oppression, to highlight their agency. Parker (2004b) also argues that incorporating psychoanalysis into this biographical-interpretive methodology is dangerous as psychoanalysis holds the risk of becoming the master narrative. Frosh (2007) explores this and questions the dangers of imposing a pre-set discourse (psychoanalysis) on interview material in an attempt to 'fix' the fragmented narrative. As the researcher and the interviewer, it is not my place to ask the participant to piece together their narrative so that it appears less fragmented. Fragmentation tells its' own story. Instead of trying to fix participants' fragmented narratives I focused on discourse analysis, exploring the power relations and resistance that particular discourses reproduced. I offered various possible explanations regarding why particular

participants invested in certain discourses and I used previous literature and theory to explore these possible motivations. Psychoanalysis was not the master narrative and the unconscious motivations and attractions of particular discourses were explored, to provide us with a deeper understanding of why certain discourses gain popularity whilst others do not. This enhances our understanding of the relationship between the individual and society as we are not just 'dupes of discourse' but active in the dissemination of these discourses in society (Frosh, 2003). Qualitative research asserts that there are multiple truths and in this study, I tried to explore each woman's narrative with that approach. Using a meta-qualitative analysis allowed me to use multiple frameworks such as discourse analysis, narrative theory and psychoanalysis to triangulate my inquiry, allowing me to explore different ways of understanding the issues of identity and the culture of violence against women in South Africa (Parker, 2004b).

7.5. Recommendations for Further Research

It is important to explore recommendations and possibilities for further research. One of findings of the study is the discourse of feminine transgression; and highlighted a participant's story, in which she was a victim of homophobic violence in a township in Johannesburg because she was constructed as transgressing from traditional heterosexual female norms of dress, behaviour or desire (Bennett, 2010). There has been an influx of research on homophobic violence against women in South Africa in the last 10 years however; this is still an under-researched issue in South Africa, which requires further attention. A qualitative study exploring the self-narratives of Black African lesbians in South Africa would highlight the everyday discriminations and violence these women are exposed to, whilst also focusing on how they construct their identity in the midst of this volatile context.

Another finding that emerged from this research was the historical narratives of family violence present in six different women's accounts, in which women spoke about the violence that was perpetrated against themselves, their sisters, mothers, aunts and grandmothers. A qualitative study, which explores how families experience intergenerational trauma, in the form of violence against women, across different generations in their family, represents another possibility for future research. A study exploring the narratives of each woman in the family would shed light on how this particular type of intergenerational trauma influences the identity construction of these women. This would add an additional and unique dimension to the existing research on intergenerational trauma and bridge a significant gap in the literature.

I also found the process of researching sensitive material such as violence against women over the last four years emotionally draining and found sparse literature on how researchers experience researching emotional subject matter. There is currently a need for more research on this issue and a study exploring the experiences of researchers and field workers who work with sensitive subject matter in the South African context would represent a significant contribution to the field. Other future research possibilities expanding on this research could also include expanding the sample to include a wider age range, a non-university sample and a different community.

7.6. Final Reflections and Conclusions

Post-apartheid South Africa's current climate of patriarchy, social inequality and culture of violence has created a context in which violence against women appears to be both prevalent

and tolerated. This doctoral research takes place against this backdrop of a culture of violence against women in South Africa and explored how young women construct their identity in this context. This qualitative, biographical-interpretative study revealed the overarching theme of the discourse of subordinate femininity, in which women are constructed as fearful, vulnerable and subordinate and their behaviour is constantly being regulated and under surveillance. The study also revealed that when women transgress constructions of subordinate femininity, they are punished and violence is constructed as a means of discipline. The study also found that the discourse of subordinate femininity was being constantly reproduced through the women's different narratives and discourses; however, women also appeared to actively resist this discourse. The reproduction and resistance of the discourse of subordinate femininity was central to how these women constructed their identity. With this in mind, combating the issue of violence against women requires us to identify and deconstruct dominant discourses, which construct women as subordinate to men and re-think gender role socialisation (Gqola, 2007). Research indicates that violence against women is a product of gender role socialization and gender discrimination at a structural, ideological and operational level (Gqola, 2007; Morrell, 2003; United Nations [UN], 2009; Wardrop, 2009). Reducing the levels of violence against women in society requires addressing gender discrimination at all these levels because the root cause lies in gender inequalities, specifically the regulation of female sexuality at both a social, cultural and state level (UN, 2009). Furthermore, the prevalence of a discourse of subordinate femininity reinforces gender-inequalities in society, which is dangerous because the prevalence of violence against women appears to be directly related to a woman's value and status in her community (Gqola, 2007; Moffett, 2006, 2009; Morrell, 2003; Vogelman & Eagle, 1991; Wardrop, 2009). This study has helped us address these macro issues regarding violence against

women and the root causes and solutions surrounding this social issue, as well as highlighting the individual experiences of the women in the study. It is groundbreaking in terms of its unique subject matter, methodological approach and social significance to the South African context. It represents an original contribution to the field and is part of an effort to raise consciousness around violence against women and its impact on not only survivors, but also all women.

The word ‘thesis’ draws on the Greek notion of ‘believing in’ (Trafford & Leschem, 2008). Drawing from this translation a thesis represents a body of work, which the author believes in wholeheartedly. I believe that there could not have been a more apt description for my doctoral research as I am passionate about combating violence against women and addressing the impact that it has not only on the lives of survivors, but all women. Over the last four years, my doctoral research has pushed me to the limits both as a researcher and as a woman as I have had to come face to face with my own feelings and experiences of violence against women. As women in South Africa, we spend so much of our lives being strong, partly out of necessity and partly because our culture demands us to be. I am honoured that I was able to hear the stories of the young women in my study and share in their strength. This research would not be possible without them.

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Appendix A

SRPP Advertisement

Announcement

From: Sarah Gordon

Date: 18-Sep-2012 16:54

Subject: Violence against Women Study

Violence against women is prevalent in South Africa. I am conducting a study on how women experience living in this context. I want to talk to female UCT students about their life stories and what it means to be a woman in South Africa.

Two interviews will be conducted with each participant. The first interview will be an hour and a half, whilst the second interview will be an hour. **Five SRPP points** will only be given after both interviews are completed.

Each participant will be interviewed individually. Times and venues for interviews will be arranged once participants email me. **You can email me on gordonsarah44@gmail.com to arrange a time and venue.**

Appendix B

Consent Form

Date: _____

Dear Participant,

Thank you for considering participating in this research study. I am currently a doctoral student in the psychology department at the University of Cape Town. For the purpose of my degree, I am conducting a research study. My research focuses on issues of fear, safety, risk and violence against women. I want to explore how women are affected by the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa. I believe this is an important issue and value your participation in my research.

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

- Your participation is completely voluntary.
- Your responses will be confidential, and your identity will not be revealed. Pseudonyms will be used, and any individual information that may uniquely identify you will not be included.
- Should you agree to participate in this study, I would like to conduct two interviews with you to explore the following areas: fear, safety, risk and violence against women. The interviews should last approximately an hour and a half to two hours. These interviews will be conducted at your convenience.
- The interviews will be audio-tape recorded. All recordings of your interviews and subsequent transcripts will be kept confidential and stored in a safe and secure location.
- Should you agree, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time.
- Should the interview raise any emotionally difficult issues for you we will refer you to adequate counselling and support.
- A copy of the informed consent will be given to you.
- Copies of the final research will be made available to you at your request.

If you require additional information please feel free to contact me.

Sarah Gordon (Researcher) or Dr. Floretta Boonzaier (Supervisor)
Psychology Department Psychology Department
University of Cape Town University of Cape Town
Cell: 084-563-6539 021-650-3429
E-mail: gordonsarah44@gmail.com or grdsar006@uct.ac.za

As a participant I hereby understand these terms and conditions and agree to take part in this research study.

_____	_____
Signature of Participant	Signature of Researcher
_____	Sarah Gordon
Name	Name
_____	_____
Date	Date

As a participant of this study, I herby grant permission for the researcher to audio-tape these interviews and I understand that these interviews will be kept confidential.

_____	_____
Signature of Participant	Signature of Researcher
_____	Sarah Gordon
Name	Name
_____	_____
Date	Date

Appendix C

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

A. Basic information

A1. What is your date of birth?

Day / Month / Year

A.2 Age

A.3 Sex

Male	Female

A.4 Race group

Black African	White	Coloured	Indian	Other

B. Education and employment

B.1 What is your level of study at the University of Cape Town (UCT)?

a First Year	
b Second Year	
c Third Year	
d Fourth Year/ Honours	
e Masters	
f Doctorate	

B.2 Are you a full time or part-time student?

a Full Time	
b Part-Time	

B.3 Do you currently have any form of employment?

a Unemployed, not looking for work	01
b Unemployed, looking for work	02
c Work in informal sector, not looking for permanent work	03

d	Self-employed - full time (40 hours or more per week)	04
e	Self-employed - part time (less than 40 hours per week)	05
f	Employed part time (less than 40 hours per week)	06
g	Employed full time (40 hours or more per week)	07
h	No response	08
n	Other, specify:	09

C. Socio-economic status

C.1 Where do you currently live?

a	University residence	1
b	Private accommodation	2
c	With parents/family members	3

C.2 What is your main source of income?

a	Formal salary/earnings from employment	1
b	Contributions by **adult** family members or relatives	2
c	Contributions by **younger** family members or relatives (<18 years)	3
d	Financial Aid/Scholarship/Bursary	4
e	Student Loan	5
f	Other sources, specify main source:……..	6
g	No income	7

C.3 Which statement best describes your financial situation?

a	Not enough money for basics like food and clothes	1
b	Have money for food and clothes, but short on many other things	2
c	We have most of the important things, but few luxury goods	3
d	Some money for extra things such as going away for holidays and luxury goods	4
e	Don't know	5
f	No response	6

D. Family information and Relationship Status

D.1. What are the occupations of your parents/guardians?

D.2. What is your current relationship status?

a. Married	1
b. Cohabiting/living together, not married	2
c. Single	3
d. Partner, not living together, not married	4

D.2. **If married or in a relationship**, how many **months** have you been with your current partner?

D.4 Do you have any children you are caring for?

Yes	**No**
1	2

D.5 If so, how many children are you caring for?

Appendix D

Interview Guide[1]

Violence against women is a serious problem in South Africa. [Talk surrounding the prevalence of violence against women in South Africa]. In this interview I'd like to talk about: how you as a woman experience living in a country, where violence against women is so prevalent and what it means to be a woman in South Africa.

Can you start off by telling me about yourself and your life in Cape Town?

Possible Probes

- Can you tell me about your daily routine?
- Can you tell me about whether you think the prevalence of violence against women has impacted on your life?
- Can you tell me about situations in which you feel unsafe?
- Can you tell me about how you keep yourself safe?
- Can you think of something that you've read, seen or heard about recently that makes you fearful? Anything?
- Can you tell me about times in your life recently when you've been anxious?
- Can you tell me about earlier times in your life when you've been anxious?
- Can you tell me about what it's like living as a woman in South Africa and what that means to you?

[1](Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 37-38)

Appendix E

Case Summary[2]

1. Initials (interviewee/interviewer)
2. Location
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Race
6. Year of study/type of employment
7. Relationship status
8. Family/children
9. Health
10. Criminal victimisation (history)
11. Fear of violence/crime (history)
12. At risk/risk-taking
13. Anxiety/worry/traumatic events
14. Interviewer/interviewee relationship
15. Other comments/theme/summary

[2](Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 157)

Appendix F

Sindiswa's Case Summary[10]

1. Initials (interviewee/interviewer)

S (Interviewee); S. G (Interviewer)

2. Location

Interviews took place at the Psychology department, University of Cape Town (UCT), Cape Town, Western Cape.
Sindiswa lives in a university residence near the university. She grew up in a township near Cape Town.

3. Age

21

4. Sex

Female

5. Race

Black African

6. Year of study/type of employment

Sindiswa is an undergraduate social work student and receives financial aid.

7. Relationship status

She has been in a long-term relationship with the father of her child for the last five years. They met when she was 16 years old.

8. Family/children

Sindiswa's father is absent. Her mother left her when she was five years old to look for work and never returned. She does not know the whereabouts of her mother. She has a younger sister and older brother. They grew up with their grandmother in a township near Cape Town.

Sindiswa fell pregnant at the age of 16 and suspended her schooling for three years to give birth and care for her child. She returned to high school when she was 19 and enrolled at UCT when she was 21. Her grandmother takes care of her son and Sindiswa goes home to the township every weekend to visit her child.

Sindiswa's brother never completed high school and is a suspected criminal and gang member.

Sindiswa's sister is 18 years old and has been raped numerous times. At one point in the interview Sindiswa states "15 times". Her sister's attackers are never identified.

9. Health

Sindiswa fell pregnant at 16 and has a son of four years old. She does not drink alcohol, smoke or use drugs. Her health appears in good condition.

10. Criminal victimisation (history)

Experienced sexual harassment and verbal abuse when she was pregnant at the age of 16.

11. Fear of violence/crime (history)

Sindiwa does not express any fear of violence or crime about the area surrounding the university residence she lives in.

She expresses high levels of fear of violence or crime about her hometown, the township near Cape Town. She speaks about stories of kidnapping, rape, murder and assault in her hometown.

12. At risk/risk-taking

Sindiswa speaks about how she engages in 'risk-taking behaviour' such as walking alone at night in Cape Town because she constructs Cape Town as much safer than her hometown, where she would never walk alone at night.

13. Anxiety/worry/traumatic events

*Sindiswa's absent father and mother. She constructs her mother as abandoning her.

*Sindiswa's brother has been involved in gang activity in the past and she worries that he may currently be involved in gang activity. She also worries that her sister is involved in gang activity.

*Sindiswa's sister's has been raped numerous times and she is worried about her.

*Sindiswa fears for her family's safety in her hometown and is especially anxious about her son's safety growing up in the township.

*Sindiswa's neighbour in her hometown was murdered outside her house and she expresses concern regarding her family's safety

*Sindiswa is anxious about her studies and disappointing her grandmother.

14. Interviewer/interviewee relationship

Good rapport.

15. Other comments/themes/summary

*Sindiswa reiterates the **culture of violence** present in South Africa and speaks about how crime and violence is a 'fashion' in the township. "People are killed every day. It's just fashion"- Interview 2.

*Sindiswa speaks about how when she was 16 and pregnant she would be verbally abused and harassed by both men and women in her community. She constructs this abuse as a form of **discipline** because she transgresses various discourses of female sexuality and desire. The image of Sindiswa as a 16 year old, unmarried, pregnant, Black African woman walking around a South African township produces a representation that is in opposition to the typical construction of a modest, virginal and subordinate woman (i.e. 'good womanhood'), which makes her a target for abuse.

*Sindiswa constructs violence as a form of discipline, arguing that women are "men's boxing bags"- Interview 1.

*Sindiswa constructs being a woman in South Africa with vulnerability and victimhood, contributing to the **discourse of subordinate femininity**. This is reinforced through her statement: "Being a woman in South Africa is being a victim."- Interview 2.

Risk/ Fear of Crime/ Anxiety Profiles

High Risk/Medium Fear of Crime/ Medium Anxiety

Violence against Women in South Africa

Appendix G: **Debriefing Pamphlet**

Statistics

In South Africa, one in three women will be raped in their lifetime and one in four women are believed to be involved in an abusive relationship.[1]

Definition

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defines violence against women (VAW) as: "Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women– including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether in public or in private life". [2]

Effects of Violence against Women (VAW)[3]

*Increased risk of serious physical injury

* Increased risk of contracting **HIV and STDS**

* Increased risk of substance abuse (alcohol or drugs)

*** Psychological and emotional distress:** Hopelessness; feelings of isolation; lowered self-esteem; severe anxiety; self-blame; reoccurring nightmares; difficulties falling asleep; flashbacks; inability to concentrate; avoidance of triggers that remind you of the event; hyper-vigilance; lowered academic performance and depression.

Common Myths[4]

-Women who wear provocative or revealing clothing are inviting sexual violation.

- It is mostly promiscuous young women who are sexually assaulted.

-The majority of sexual offences occur between people who do not know each other.

-A woman often causes her sexual assault by going into an unsafe situation such as a bad neighbourhood or a bar.

-Rape consists of rough heterosexual sexual intercourse.

-Once a man is sexually aroused he is unable to control himself.

Where to Find Help

Discrimination and Harassment Office (DISCHO)

For immediate help, call the 24 hour service for sexual assault, rape and harassment victim/survivors on 021 650 2222 or speed dial 8519 from any UCT extension. Visit a trained sexual harassment advisor who can assist and support you with your complaints at the Discrimination and Harassment Office, which can be found at the 'The Cottage' on Lovers Walk, Lower Campus, UCT. During working hours contact 021 650 3530. DISCHO provides legal advice and court preparation for gender violence victims (staff and students), with particular expertise in Protection Orders. They also investigate complaints that include: sexual harassment, racial discrimination and intimidation.

Student Counselling Services

Student counselling offers mostly individual psychotherapy to UCT students, focusing on personal, emotional or psychological problems. The counselling service is provided to UCT students at a cost of R100 per session (negotiable) and students able to prove that they receive financial aid from the University are not charged. The Student Wellness Centre can be found at 28 Rhodes drive, Mowbray. Contact 021 650 1017/ 1020 for an appointment. Operating hours are Monday to Friday: 08h30 to 16h30.

Rape Crisis

Rape Crisis is an organisation specifically aimed at helping survivors of rape, providing **face-to-face counselling, a 24-hour crisis line, support groups and a pre-trial** consultation in preparation for a court case. **Contact Rape Crises on** 021 447 1467 or access the counselling line on 021 447 9762. The 24 hour number is 0732650896 / (021) 447-9762. All counselling services are free of charge. Rape Crisis can be found at 23 Trill Road, Observatory. Visit their website: http://rapecrisis.org.za/

[1] Abrahams et al., 2006, 2009; Palmary, 2006; StatsSA, 2012; Van Rensburg, 2007

[2] United Nations General Assembly, 1993, Article 1, paragraph 14.

[3] Alloy, Riskond & Manos, 2005; DeKersedy & Schwartz, 1998; Frinter & Rubinson, 1993; Hamilton & Jensvold, 1992; Koss & Cleveland, 1997; http://rapecrisis.org.za/

[4] http://rapecrisis.org.za/

Footnotes

[1]The GINI Index refers to the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution (World Bank, 2014, p.1).

[2] The term 'Coloured' is used instead of 'mixed-race' as it describes "those South Africans loosely bound together for historical reasons such as slavery and a combination of oppressive and preferential treatment during apartheid, rather than by common ethnic identity." (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999, p. 169). The term 'Coloured' was originally a white-imposed apartheid racial categorization (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999).

[3] Social capital refers to the social support systems and relations that build trust, mutual obligations and respect in communities and the wider society (Adams, 2011).

[4] Gender-based violence is "an umbrella term for any harm that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that results from power inequities that are based on gender roles" (RHC, 2003, p. 9; UNGA, 1993).

[5] The terms psychosocial and psychological are not equivalent to each other. The term psychological typically refers to the subject matter of psychology and/or the emotional and mental state of the person. This study aims to explore how women are affected and how their identity shifts as a result of living in a culture of violence against women; and uses the general term the 'psychological impact' to refer to this experience. However, this study explores the psychological impact of a culture of violence on women from a psychosocial theoretical lens, engaging with social constructionist theory, narrative theory and psychoanalysis. The author acknowledges that the terms 'psychosocial' and 'psychological' are not interchangeable,

however places them adjacent to each other to highlight the aim of the research and the theoretical underpinnings of the study.

[6] Suggested further reading on social psychology in South Africa: Foster, D. E., & Louw-Potgieter, J. E. (1991). *Social psychology in South Africa*. Lexicon Publishers.

[7] Suggested further reading on social constructionism: Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. New York: Routledge.

[8] Freud argued that "anxiety is a product of repression, caused by the failure of instincts to achieve release" (Frosh, 1999, p. 63).

[9] It is important to note that each participant filled in a participant demographic form and were given the choice to self-identify with one of the following racial groups: Black African, Coloured, White, Indian or Other. The racial group that is listed under their description is the same group they self-identified with on the form. As a researcher, I acknowledge the socially constructed nature of the racial groupings listed in this thesis and the history of colonialism and apartheid that they are situated in.

[10] Please note that some of the identifying characteristics and details about Sindiswa's life have been changed or omitted to protect her anonymity. This biographical case summary of Sindiswa serves as an example of the case summaries that were written about each participant. The case summaries were usually more detailed than this, however as the researcher I felt it was inappropriate to provide a rich and detailed description of Sindiswa in this case summary example as it may compromise her anonymity and right to confidentiality.

Table 1

Profile of Participants

Participant	**Age**	**Racial Group/ First Language**	**Socio-Economic Class**	**Undergraduate Level of Study**	**Relationship Status**	**Trauma Story**
Camilla	26	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Psychology; history)	Long-term relationship (2 years). *Partner passed away a few months after the second interview.	Physically assaulted twice; robbed twice; sexually harassed several times
Monica	18	Black African Xhosa	Low socio-economic class *Grew up in a township in the Eastern Cape	First year (Social work; psychology)	Long-term relationship (15 months)	Raped twice
Amanda	23	Black African Xhosa	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Medicine)	Long-term relationship (5 years) One child (3 months old)	Robbed once; sexually assaulted once; witnessed domestic violence growing up
Simone	18	White	Middle socio-economic class	First year (English; psychology)	Single	Sexually assaulted once; witnessed domestic violence growing up
Sindiswa	21	Black African Xhosa Speaking	Low socio-economic class *Grew up in a township near Cape Town	First year (Social work; psychology)	Long-term relationship (5 years) years One child (4 years old)	Verbally abused and harassed; sister was raped 15 times; absent mother and father

Thandi	18	Black African Xhosa	Middle socio-economic class	First year (Psychology; politics)	Single	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Phelisa	28	Black African Xhosa	Low socio-economic class *Grew up in a township in Johannesburg	Second year (Social work; psychology)	Long term relationship (2 years) * Partner passed away a week after the first interview	Physically assaulted once (hate crime); robbed once; partner was gang raped and subsequently died from AIDS- related complications
Valerie	32	Black African Xhosa	Low socio-economic class *Grew up in a township in the Eastern Cape	First year (Social work; psychology)	Single	Raped twice; gang-raped repeatedly over the period of a year; physically assaulted twice; was in an abusive relationship; stabbed once; robbed four times
Natalie	21	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Environmental science; psychology)	Single	No reported direct victimization; witnessed a friend being stabbed
Sarisha	21	Indian English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Genetics; psychology)	Long-term relationship (6 months)	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Taylor	23	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Psychology; drama)	Single	Sexually molested by a friend's father; physically assaulted

						once; robbed once
Alicia	18	White English	Middle socio-economic class	First year (Social work; psychology)	Single	Robbed four times
Charlotte	23	White English	Upper socio-economic class	Third year (English; psychology)	Single	Hijacked once; one house robbery; physically assaulted once
Caitlyn	21	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Psychology; gender Studies)	Single	Sexually abused by her father as a child
Nandipha	20	Black African English/Xhosa	Middle socio-economic class	Second year (Psychology; French)	Single	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Tess	18	White English	Upper socio-economic class	First year (French; environmental science)	Single	One house robbery; assaulted during the house robbery
Elizabeth	21	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (History; psychology)	Long-term relationship (1 year)	Sexually abused as a child by a family friend
Jaclyn	22	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Politics; history)	Single	Sexually harassed at work often (works as a hostess)
Lesley	19	White English	Middle socio-economic class	First year (Psychology; English)	Long-term relationship (4 years)	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Lindiwe	21	Black African Xhosa Speaking	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Audiology; Psychology)	Single	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Nadeera	21	Indian (Muslim) English	Middle socio-economic	Third year (Psychology; organizational	Single	Emotionally abusive relationship

			class	psychology)		during high school
Franziska	22	White English/German	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Sociology; psychology)	Single	Robbed three times; sexually assaulted once
Nomzamo	28	Black African Xhosa	Low socio-economic class *Grew up in a township in the Eastern Cape	Third year (Social work; psychology)	Single	No direct reported victimization; grew up in a violent township
Phumla	21	Black African Xhosa	Low socio-economic class	Third year (Sociology; psychology)	Single	Sexually assaulted once; mugged once
Courtney	18	White English	Middle socio-economic class	First year (Social work; psychology)	In a long-term relationship (6 months)	No reported direct or secondary victimization
Saamiqa	21	Coloured (Muslim) English	Low socio-economic class	Third year (Psychology; organizational psychology)	Single	Witnessed domestic violence growing up; Sexually molested by her mother's boyfriend at 16
Carrey	23	White English	Middle socio-economic class	Third year (Psychology)	Single	No reported direct or secondary victimization

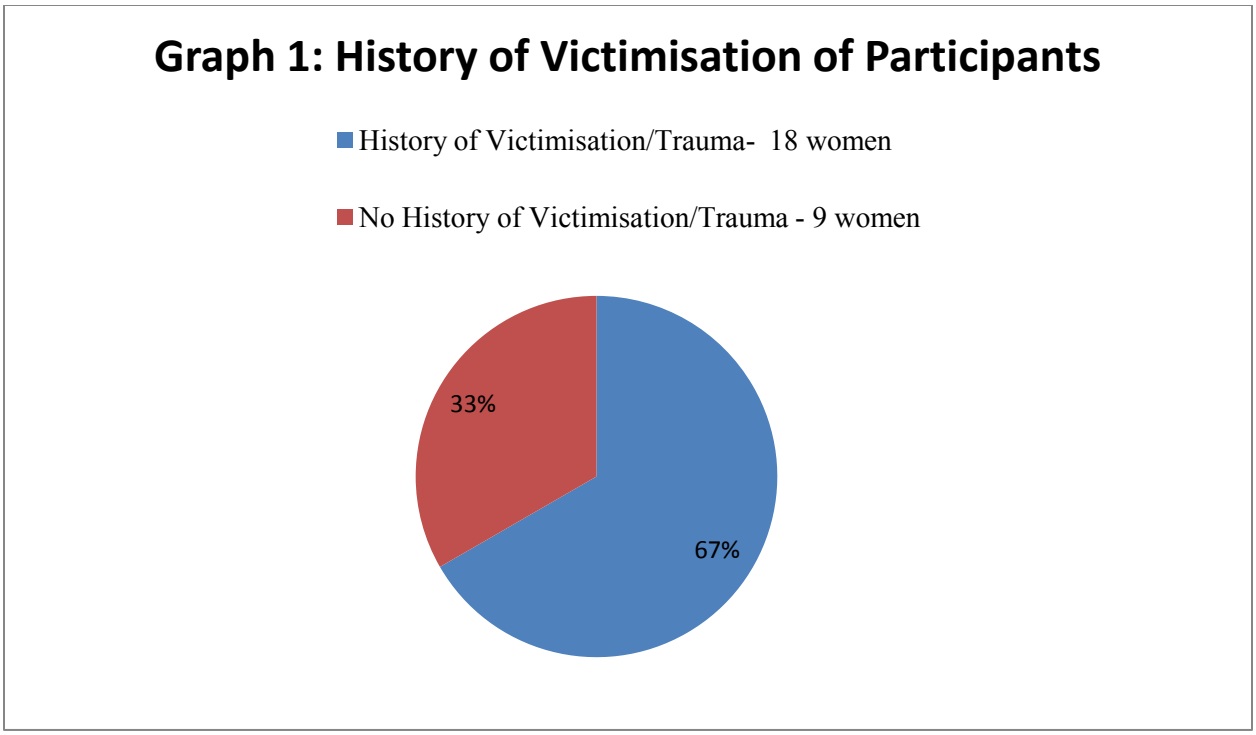

Figure 1. Graph 1: History of Victimisation of Participants.

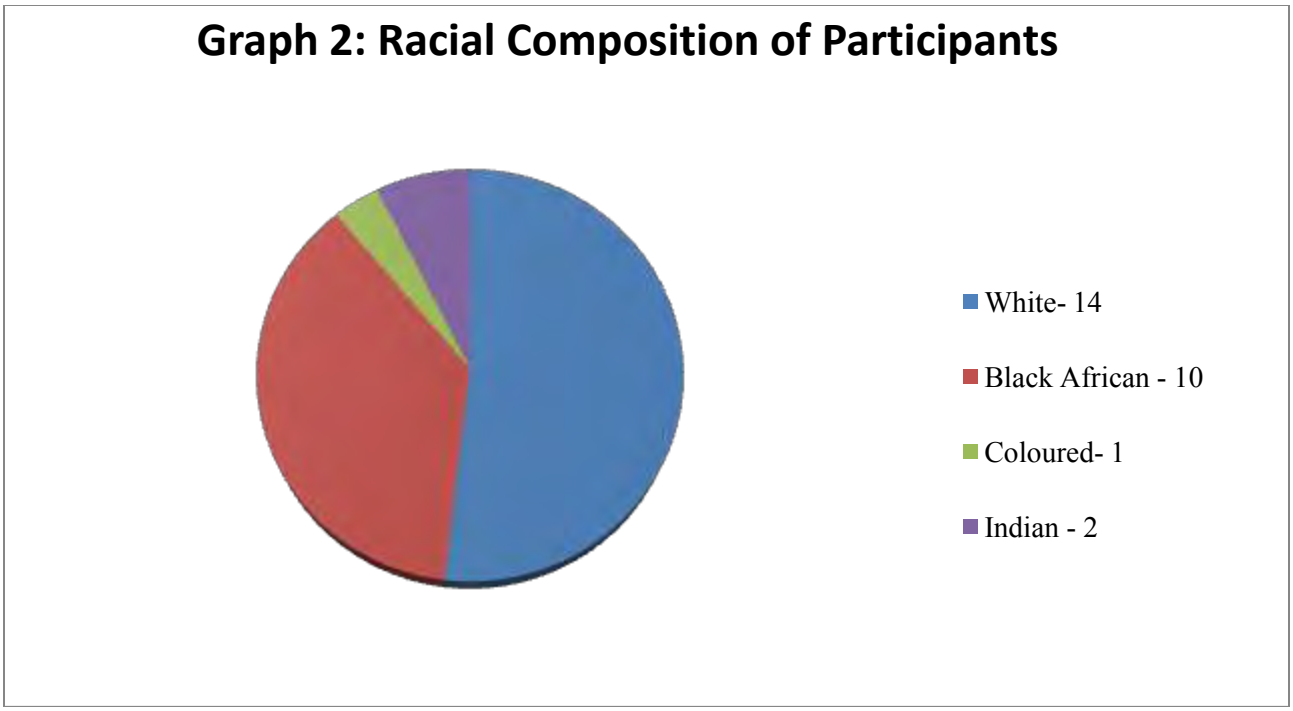

Figure 2. Graph 2: Racial Composition of Participants.